Daily Report

East Europe

FBIS-EEU-90-140
Friday
20 July 1990

Daily Report
East Europe

FBIS-EEU-90-140 *20 July 1990*

CONTENTS

NOTICE TO READERS: * indicates material not disseminated in electronic form.

ALBANIA

Xhelil Gjoni Speech at Tirana 13 Jul Rally *[ZERI I POPULLIT 14 Jul]* 1
Regeneration of Private Trades Welcomed *[ZERI I POPULLIT 13 Jul]* 2
'Worm of Distrust' in Recent Changes Attacked *[ZERI I POPILLIT 15 Jul]* 2

BULGARIA

Kurdzhali Situation 'Complex'; Talks Under Way *[Sofia Radio]* 4
Pripek Ethic-Related Hunger Strike Continues *[DUMA 18 Jul]* 4
Arnaudov Addresses Assembly on Ethnic Unrest *[Sofia Radio]* 4
BSP Appeals for Calm, Favors Assembly Role *[BTA]* 5
Further on Ethnic Conflict Debates in Assembly *[BTA]* 6
TU Confederation Leaders Discuss Strike Action *[TRUD 18 Jul]* 6
Parliament Agrees, Votes To Hear Zhivkov Address *[BTA]* 6
National Assembly To Elect President 20 Jul *[BTA]* 7
Biography of National Assembly Chairman Todorov *[DUMA 18 Jul]* 7
National Assembly Members Debate Draft Agenda *[BTA]* 7
19 Jul Session Viewed *[BTA]* 8
Opens 20 Jul With Set Agenda *[Sofia Radio]* 8
Moratorium on Death Sentences Passed *[Sofia Radio]]* 8
Rights and Freedom Movement Regional Declaration *[Sofia Radio]* 9
Leadership Declaration Issued *[Sofia Radio]* 9
BZNS, Nikola Petkov BZNS on Closer Relations *[Sofia Radio]* 10
Podkrepa Supports TU Confederation Demands *[BTA]* 10
Symbols of Totalitarianism 'Piled Up' in Sofia *[BTA]* 10
City Council Names Dimitrov Mausoleum Commission *[Sofia Radio]* 11
Interior Ministry Views Ilinden Organization *[BTA]* 11
Turkish Envoy Handed Note on Black Sea Incidents *[BTA]* 11
Rumors of Black Sea Contamination 'Unfounded' *[BTA]* 11

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Sanctions on USSR Over Oil Supplies Planned *[CTK]* 13
'Explosive Situation' Due to Oil Cuts Unexpected *[CTK]* 13
Unification 'Negative Influence' on GDR Trade *[CTK]* 14
Reunification Issues Seen as Spiritual Decline *[Berko in NARODNA OBRODA 14 Jul]* 14
Commentary on Houston Economic Summit *[Horsky in NARODNA OBRODA 13 Jul]* 14
Hungarian TV Program Criticized *[Dojcak in SMENA 13 Jul]* 15
Havel Recalls State Defense Council Officials *[Prague Radio]* 16
Havel Confirms Intent To Visit Salzburg *[Prague Radio]* 16
Calfa on Jurisdiction of Governments *[LIDOVE NOVINY 11 Jul]* 16
Interior Minister Comments on Priorities *[Prague TV]* 20
Stracar Discusses Future of Foreign Trade *[Prague TV]* 21
Role of President in Present Government Viewed *[Cibula in NARODNA OBRODA 13 Jul]* 21
Radio Director Calls for Law on Radio *[CTK]* 21
Radio Director on Media's Role *[Prague Radio]* 22
Federal Assembly Proceedings, Rulings Reported 22
Law Modifies Religious Property Relations *[CTK]* 22
ILO Conventions Approved *[CTK]* 22
Investment, Trade Accords Approved *[CTK]* 22

New Federal Ministries Established *[Prague Radio]* 23
Foreign Trade, Investment, Domestic Measures *[Prague TV]* 23
Recommendation on Salaries *[CTK]* 24
Former Secret Police To Join National Police *[CTK]* 24
Budaj Said To Have Been StB Agent *[MLADA FRONTA 13 Jul]* 24
Secret Report on Nuclear Commission Detailed *[Vienna Radio]* 24

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

Meckel Calls for Two Armies in United Germany *[Vienna TV]* 26
Urges More 'Far-Reaching' NATO Changes *[ADN]* 26
De Maiziere Holds to 2 Dec Election Plans *[Hamburg DPA]* 27
Rejects Resignation Threats Rumors *[Hamburg DPA]* 27
Reviews 'First 100 Days' *[Hamburg DPA]* 27
Bergmann-Pohl Notes 'Understanding' Soviet Stance *[ADN]* 28
Liberals, CDU/DA Discuss Unification Approach *[ADN]* 28
Hungarian Envoy Denies GDR Mission Closure *[ADN]* 28
Economics Ministry Encourages Reprivatization *[ADN]* 28

HUNGARY

Official on Soviet Troop Withdrawal *[NEPSZABADSAG 17 Jul]* 29
USSR Reducing Oil Quotas by One-Third *[MTI]* 29
NBH Ruble Accounting Deficit Widening *[MTI]* 29
Goncz on Local, Foreign Issues *[NARODNA OBRODA 12 Jul]* 30
Government on World Expo, Indemnification Bureau *[MTI]* 31
Antall Explains Foreign Policy to Envoys *[MTI]* 31

POLAND

Main Demands With FRG Reportedly Dropped *[AFP]* 33
Government Denies Dropping Demands *[Warsaw Radio]* 33
Skubizewski Corrects Newspaper on Border Issue *[PAP]* 33
Discusses Polish-German Reconciliation *[PAP]* 34
Reviews Two-Plus-Four Talks *[Warsaw Radio]* 34
Niezabitowska on Two-Plus-Four Talks, Auschwitz *[PAP]* 34
Soviet Oil Delivery Accords To Be Honored *[PAP]* 36
Second Anti-Soviet Hunger Strike Begun *[PAP]* 36
Mazowiecki Government's Problems, Strengths Viewed
[Zalewski in TYGODNIK SOLIDARNOSC 13 Jul] 37
Cabinet Reshuffle Assessed *[TYGODNIK GDANSKI 15 Jul]* 38
Government Criticized for Opposing Strikes *[TYGODNIK SOLIDARNOSC 13 Jul]* 39
Jaruzelski Reviews Past Year as President *[Warsaw Radio]* 39
Liquidation Chairman Drygalski on RSW Breakup *[TYGODNIK SOLIDARNOSC 13 Jul]* 40
Future Revaluation of Zloty Announced *[GAZETA WYBORCZA 18 Jul]* 43
Farmers Talks Fail; Meeting Set for 24 Jul *[PAP]* 43
New Citizens Movement Formation Reported *[RZECZPOSPOLITA 13 Jul]* 43
Sejm Adopts Culture, Wages, Alcohol Amendments *[PAP]* 44

ROMANIA

Students Demonstrate, Demand Munteanu's Release 45
'Several Thousand' Protest in Timisoara *[AFP]* 45
Open Letter Issued to Government *[ROMPRES]* 45
Ex-Political Detainees Request Munteanu Release *[DREPTATEA 10 Jul]* 45
Deputies' Assembly Discusses Economic Units Bill *[ROMPRES]* 45
Reorganizing Business Operations *[ROMPRES]* 46
Senate 19 Jul Session; Economic Debate Postponed *[ROMPRES]* 46
TV Criticized for Trying To 'Discredit' NPCDP *[DREPTATEA 6 Jul]* 46
Radio-TV TU Protests Coverage, Management *[DREPTATEA 6 Jul]* 47

'Noua Romanie' National Alliance Established *[ROMPRES]* 48
Iliescu's 'Discouraging' Speeches Criticized *[DREPTATEA 7 Jul]* 48
Ceausescu Sister's Trial Continues in Bucharest *[ROMPRES]* 48
Testimony Given in Nicu Ceausescu Trial in Sibiu *[ROMPRES]* 48
Trial of Dascalescu, Oprea, Gere To Open 21 Jul *[ROMPRES]* 49
Proceedings Begin Against Feb Demonstrators *[ROMPRES]* 49
Hungary Admits Innocence of Accused 'Spy' *[ROMPRES]* 49
Bishop Tokes Views Hungarian Minority Issues *[MTI]* 49
Hungary Criticized for Ethnic Minority Policy *[ADEVARUL 7 Jul]* 50

YUGOSLAVIA

Government Interest in 'Independent' Albania *[TANJUG]* 51
Peterle, Rupel Assess 'Successful' U.S. Visit *[DELO 13 Jul]* 51
Presidency Statement on Talks With Republics *[TANJUG]* 51
Defense Secretariat Defends Territorial Policy *[TANJUG]* 52
Slovenia May Withhold Conscripts *[TANJUG]* 52
Slovene Council Issues Media Ownership Statement *[TANJUG]* 52
Slovene Kosovo Declaration Criticizes Serbs *[TANJUG]* 53
Slovenia's Rupel Invites Serbs To Discuss Future *[Vienna DER STANDARD 19 Jul]* 53
U.S. 'Disregarded' Complexity of Kosovo Problems *[TANJUG]* 53
Europe Parliament's View Criticized *[TANJUG]* 54
Kosovo Delegates To Be Criminally Charged *[TANJUG]* 54
Serbian Assembly Appoints New Kosovo Officials *[TANJUG]* 54
Assembly Passes Serbian Party Organization Law *[TANJUG]* 54
Further on New Law *[TANJUG]* 54
Radio Pristina Workers Protest 'Manipulation' *[RILINDJA 11 Jul]* 54
Serbian Premier Questions Federal Economic Plan *[TANJUG]* 55
New Serbian Socialist Party Elects Leadership *[TANJUG]* 55
SAWP Relinquishes Rights to Several Newspapers *[NOVA MAKEDONIJA 14 Jul]* 55
'Extremists' in Serbian Democratic Party Viewed *[Plese in VJESNIK 13 Jul]* 55
Socialist Party Speeches Resemble 'Old Party' *[BORBA 18 Jul]* 56
'Front of Leftist Forces' Supported in Bosnia *[POLITIKA 18 Jul]* 56
Markovic Visits Macedonian Businessmen in Ohrid *[TANJUG]* 57
Talks With Businessmen in Belgrade *[TANJUG]* 57
Briefs Unionists on Economic Reform *[TANJUG]* 58
Slovene, Macedonian Groups Air Current Issues *[TANJUG]* 58
Macedonian LC Presents Election Platform *[TANJUG]* 58
Amendments to Croatian Constitution Criticized *[TANJUG]* 59
Montenegrin SAWP 'Ceases To Exist' *[BORBA 17 Jul]* 59
'Democratic Socialist Party' Founded in Croatia *[TANJUG]* 59
Bosnian LC To Have 'Modern Socialist Program' *[POLITIKA 15 Jul]* 59

Xhelil Gjoni Speech at Tirana 13 Jul Rally

AU2007092190 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 14 Jul 90 p 1-2

[Speech by Comrade Xhelil Gjoni, Albanian Workers Party Central Committee Politburo member, at a rally in Skenderbeg Square in Tirana on 13 July: "As Always—Like a Fist Round the Party"]

[Text] Dear comrades, brothers and sisters, citizens of Tirana. Like all the Albanian people, we inhabitants of the heroic capital city of our dear Albania learned with joy of the results of the 11th Albanian Workers Party [AWP] Central Committee plenum and express our full solidarity with them. The decisions it made, both those concerning educational reform and those concerning the economy, create favorable conditions and open clear horizons for our country's further development and progress. The introduction of compulsory tenth-grade education in the towns and countryside will make our children more cultured and educated, and will give them more opportunities to acquire contemporary skills and become better specialists in every field. We are rightly proud of these new achievements, ranking our country among the first of nations concerning the people's education.

The decisions made by the 11th plenum for the reorganization of the service and handicraft sectors are exceptionally important for all our country's life. This new form of organization will not only bring services closer to the people, but will create employment opportunities for many people as well. The decision to pay workers according to their job categories will eliminate an anomaly which existed in the wage system. This applies the great socialist principle of payment according to each person's quantity and quality of work. Finally, although it is not the end, the 10-20 percent increase in low wages will help a great mass of working people, and the guaranteed 80 percent wages for workers whose work is interrupted for no fault of their own, is a clear expression of the continual care of the party and state for the lives of our working people and their families.

However, all these measures are not only of economic importance, and do not bring only economic advantages for working people. They are also of political importance, and further democratize production relations, thus contributing to the democratization of the country's life as a whole.

In his plenum speech, Comrade Ramiz Alia announced that the party is studying and drafting other new projects to carry forward and democratize other areas of our life, those of the state and the policy of the party in general. All this good news is part of an irreversible process, and it cheers and inspires us. It further fortifies our trust in the correct line of the party and state, the strength and wisdom of our people, and our sure future.

The wise and determined progress of our society on the road to our country's democratization and on its road to socialism, freedom, and independence, encounters various difficulties. It encounters the efforts of enemies who wish to create tensions and to sow distrust, thus interrupting our onward progress. These enemies seek to destroy our life, our present and future, to destroy the freedom we have gained and the power of the people. Some people; without ideals or morals, whether deceived or naive, trampling on the blood and bones of the martyrs, sullying the respected name and honor of Albania, in their behavior and acts directly help the plans of our enemies who wish to restore the toppled bourgeoisie and landowners.

It is clear that the power of the people and socialist Albania are a thorn in our enemies' flesh. These enemies become enraged when they see our national unity and the victories of our hardworking, peace-loving, and brave people, so full of loyal virtues, who have leaped like a lion from the Middle Ages into the modern age, and who live free by their own sweat, without being indebted to, or bothering anyone.

Our people led by the party and Comrade Enver Hoxha, in half a century of struggle and creative work, have renewed and given new dimensions to their ancient civilization. They have overcome colossal obstacles in order to draw close to the progressive currents of modern European civilization. This was not imposed on us by anyone, but came about as a need in our growth, and a general trend in our historical development. Our foreign policy is a policy of friendship, noninterference, and mutual respect. We have affirmed and affirm again today the spirit of readiness to maintain cooperation and equal and unconditional international relations, while we say with one voice to our enemies that Albania and its people's power are unshaken by degenerate people who abandon their homeland, or by anybody else. They are not Albania, they are not the people. The Albanians have been raised in struggle and labor, and have shown themselves to be people of wisdom, with a rare and indomitable spirit in confronting storms. They have been and remain undaunted fighters for freedom and social progress. They therefore look to their future with unshaken confidence.

Comrades, it is not a mere coincidence, but a diabolical concatenation and a prearranged scenario that the events on 2 July in Tirana occurred at the same time as a fresh blow against the autonomy of Kosovo and an intensification of the barbaric great Serbian violence in Kosovo. It is clear that there are certain circles who do not wish us well, and cannot reconcile themselves to the existence of our nation.

We determinedly denounce the policy of destroying a people's national identity and the chauvinist terror of the totalitarian Serbian state. But there is no force anywhere that can humiliate and bring the Albanian nation to its knees, quench its identity and ancient culture, or its right to live freely, independent and sovereign. Albanians throughout the world thrive when their mother Albania thrives.

Comrades, we are aware that we also have difficulties and shortcomings. We still do not have the economy and the living standards we would like. However, we recognize reality, and are making every effort to solve these problems ourselves. Foreigners cannot solve them, only we are able to do so. In the great battle for the progress of the economy and the further democratization of the country's life, we are no doubt hampered by a great deal of outmoded thinking, by bureaucracy with all its inertia and clumsiness, and by the isolation of some cadres from the people's concerns, diseased kinds of friendship, and unjust forms of behavior.

Workers and peasants, intellectuals and cadres in enterprises, cooperatives, institutions, ministries, with communists in the vanguard will carry out the necessary analyses of these failings with maturity and determination, and will take the necessary measures to eliminate them. Life is movement, and the changes are necessary. The interests of the people and the homeland are sacred above everything.

People everywhere are working among us, enthusiastically implementing the historic decisions of the ninth, 10th, and 11th plenums of the party Central Committee, to fulfill plans, and to surpass targets. The intellect and energy of everybody will work to solve problems in the political, economic, and social spheres. Maintaining a clear perspective ensures fresh victories, making our Albania stronger and more beautiful. In this decisive struggle, we have tested the powerful weapons of our ardent patriotism and strong party unity with Comrade Ramiz Alia at its head.

The times and the homeland now call for everybody's unity, vigilance, and tireless labor. Let us all rise to our feet and stand sharp-eyed to protect the homeland's freedom and to carry forward our achievements in all fields on the road of the further democratization of the country's life. As always, let us be united like a fist round the party.
Long live the Albanian people!
Long live the people of our dear capital city!
Long live socialist Albania!
Long live Comrade Ramiz Alia!
Forward to fresh victories!

Regeneration of Private Trades Welcomed

AU2007094190 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 13 Jul 90 p 2

[Vladimir Zoto article: "In My Apartment Block..."

[Text] A few months ago, we moved into a new apartment block. What a lot of work a new home needs! When the builders leave, you have to set to work yourself to make it habitable. Months pass after the block is completed and families move in, and it still seems that you are in a building site.

In order to make a home out of the apartment, I started by removing the remaining mud, and cleaning the paint and plaster from the tiles. Then I started on the jobs that require payment. I found a decorator to paint the rooms. I paid another decorator to paint the doors and windows with gloss paint. I found a plumber to install a shower. The quilts sold in the stores of the retail and industrial enterprise are thinner than sheets, so I found some cotton and a length of satin and had a quilt made by a tailor who works at home. I ordered curtain rails from a skilled carpenter in Berat. That is all so far. But a new home needs so much work.

I visited Petro, my neighbor across the hall. He had ordered a very attractive and practical dining table from a carpenter....

One floor above me, a lampshade decorates the ceiling of Muharrem's kitchen. He had also ordered a carved coffee table, and an attractive chest stood between his couches.

I visited the apartment of another neighbor, Hysamedin. A carpenter was making him a sideboard for an alcove, and completed it in 10 days, working only in the afternoons.

So, private craftsmen have been working in all the apartments on the staircase of my apartment block. Everybody has experienced difficulties in finding these craftsmen and tracking down raw materials, and people have turned their rooms into workshops. We think about these problems and discuss them with our neighbors, but also mention our satisfaction with the work these craftsmen have done for us. We also discuss the decisions made at the most recent Central Committee plenum in connection with retail services and handicrafts. We are all pleased at these decisions. So are the craftsmen who have worked for us. They will have premises where they will be able to work. We citizens will have jobs done faster and in the way we want. It is worth encouraging and helping these craftsmen, so that they can exercise their trades in a regular and organized fashion. The sooner this is done, the better it will be for them and for society.

'Worm of Distrust' in Recent Changes Attacked

AU2007095190 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 15 Jul 90 p 3

[Halil Lalaj article: "Against the Language of Nihilism"]

[Text] In these intensive developments democratizing life, alongside the forces of the vanguard, there are also people who do not understand them and who, willingly or not, are opposing them. These include rumormongers, skeptics, criticizers, and comment-making speculators. They also include nihilists. Who are they, what encourages them in what they say, what symptoms do they show, and what damage do they do? They have many symptoms, and they prompt plenty of questions. This matter calls for serious attention. Some obstacles are understandable. There are communists and cadres who are not capable of responding to these developments, which require not only speed but quality and precision.

Perhaps the first obstacle lies here. There are also others whose interests are directly affected. They may be incompetent officials or people in posts of responsibility, sometimes even corrupt, but they may also be ordinary working people, occupying snug corners. A democratic climate stifles these people. However, there is also a third group of people. For them, all moderation is delay. They want matters to proceed at a gallop, even if it means breaking your neck. There are other, similar signs. Under these circumstances, they create little groups of people with complaints always at the tip of their tongues. We hear plenty from these people, and even good people often fall into this position. In Tirana's 33d District, somebody stood up and said in the midst of 300 people, "The pharmacy is selling medicines which are past their expiration date!" In this case, this comrade received an answer. A doctor stood up from the floor, and corrected his mistaken views.

Plenty of examples like that one could be cited. Only a democratic atmosphere can tolerate malcontents. They crop up everywhere, even openly, speaking out in a "manly" way. These are sick criticizers, who collect defects and then make generalizations. They must be opposed. However, we have always been able to confront anybody, not only in past decades, but especially today, with the great and positive transformations which have taken place within a few months since the ninth, 10th, and 11th plenums. We need communists, cadres, and progressive people to be daily participants in this debate in their thinking and their work, confronting those into whom the worm of distrust has entered, and who are frightened at the process of democratization. People sometimes throw stones, without reckoning where they will fall. "The plenums' decisions are not being carried out," someone says. Is this really true? Let us look at a few facts. Party organizations are holding open meetings everywhere. Is it inconsequential that everybody can go to them, express his own view, and ask for a party decision on one thing or another? It is not only not inconsequential, but an expression of a high level of genuine democracy. Free elections for managers are taking place among collectives everywhere. Nowhere can this be better achieved than in a society like ours, where the masses themselves are masters of the enterprise, the factory, the cooperative, and the country. Let us go on. Here and there, enterprises have already begun to work on a self-financing basis. Time will show the advantages of this method, but elements of it were introduced to us after the seventh plenum. Hundreds and hundreds of brigades and thousands of working people have received bonuses above their regular pay from above-plan production alone. The way is open for bonuses which will amount to the equivalent of two or three months extra pay per year. Another thing—I will not forget a visit to Ramiz Kazazi's house in Koplik. The head of the household had been told that two journalists would be coming to him to talk about what benefits he had gained from the transfer of livestock to the household yard after the 10th plenum. Instead of thinking what he would say, he produced other "evidence." Instead of words, he covered the table with three or four kinds of cheese, soft cheese, dry cheese, salty, and salt-free, and with boiled eggs, eggs fried in butter, fish from the lake, and so forth. "The plenum is like the sea," he said. "You cannot see how deep it is. As for what you want to know, look at this table and write about it. That is how I understand the plenum." Was this a small measure that the party took, also raising some self-criticism? It was significant not just for the countryside, but for the towns, and not just for today, but for tomorrow. Not just for meat and milk, but for the burden of importing cooking oil, butter, meat, and so forth. Such things can be listed endlessly.

The plenums' decisions are therefore generally being understood and implemented. Why then do the skeptics and nihilists prick up their ears? It is clearly because their ears are full of malevolent propaganda. This is the language which says to our people: What do you need Albania for? The outside world is paradise! It is this language which even suggests abnormal ways of going to whatever country in the world you may wish or be able to reach, by climbing over embassy walls or crossing the border illegally. However, every country guards its borders. So, let the others guard theirs, but not us. Of course, one must not fall into this way of thinking. The main thing is to oppose these people with all our strength and energy. The future will not forgive us any passivity.

Kurdzhali Situation 'Complex'; Talks Under Way

AU2007064190 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 0600 GMT 20 Jul 90

[Text] The situation in Kurdzhali is still very complex. Our correspondent Georgi Talev has just sent us a report by telex. Hopes that the strike would be called off, that the occupation of state buildings would discontinue, and that the blockade of the bus and railroad lines would be raised increased yesterday afternoon, when the citizens found out that the problem, with all its acuteness and alarming features, had been submitted for consideration at roundtable talks between representatives of all the main political forces in the town.

The first meeting of the roundtable at 1400 [1100 GMT] produced no results whatsoever. At the second meeting, which began at 2100 [1800 GMT] and continued past midnight until 0130 [2230 GMT], a compromise agreement was reached that all the political forces included in the contact group sign an appeal to the Grand National Assembly with constructive proposals and that meanwhile the strike would be suspended. Unfortunately, the participants failed to reach a final decision, and this morning the town is once again blocked.

At the moment, as I report this information, notes correspondent Georgi Talev, the representatives of the political forces have once again gathered at the roundtable in hopes of reaching a final decision.

I also would like inform our listeners, our correspondent points out, since rumors are already going around the country that the strike is not spontaneous, but has been organized by the Coordinating Council of the Committee for Defense of National Interests in Kurdzhali.

Pripek Ethic-Related Hunger Strike Continues

AU1907192190 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 18 Jul 90 p 1

[Text] Kurdzhali, 17 Jul (BTA)—The relay hunger strike by the inhabitants of the village of Pripek, Dzhebel Municipality, in front of the municipal people's council offices is already entering its seventh day. The villagers are demanding that the Grand National Assembly make a final decision on the illegal assimilation pressure being brought to bear by members of the Rights and Freedoms Movement [MRF] on the population in this region of the country. The strikers consider that the solution of this problem is to make the village a separate township with its own budget. So far, almost 7,000 citizens in Kurdzhali have signed a petition supporting the strikers' demands. Over 400 signatures come from the inhabitants of the village itself, labor collectives from the towns of Isperikh, Razgrad, Aytos, Sofia, Krumovgrad, Kubrat, and elsewhere.

This morning 40 people from the village of Zhultusha came to support the strikers from Pripek village. The Zhultusha villagers are presenting their own demands in addition to the others: separation of their village from Ardino Municipality and making it part of Plovdiv Oblast. They motivate these demands by the fact that even now, following the elections, they cannot be sure of a peaceful life, and have no guarantees for the future.

The action by the 40 villagers from Zhultusha is also a relay hunger strike, and will continue until their demands are fulfilled by the Grand National Assembly.

Arnaudov Addresses Assembly on Ethnic Unrest

AU1907170090 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1458 GMT 19 Jul 90

[Speech by Dimitur Arnaudov, deputy chairman of the Fatherland Party of Labor, at the session of the Grand National Assembly in Sofia on 19 July—live]

[Text] Mr. Chairman, I am Dimitur Arnaudov, member for the 172d Kurdzhali Single-Mandate Constituency, chairman of the Nationwide Committee for Defense of National Interests, and deputy chairman of the Fatherland Party of Labor.

Ladies and gentlemen:

I would like to further define certain postulates which were expressed a short time ago—concerning which I believe you should have a real perception—and then proceed to reach a well-founded decision, (?since) the issue has been raised by the Rights and Freedoms Movement in the Grand National Assembly.

Yesterday, by decision of the government, I, as the member representing this town, traveled together with Chudomir Aleksandrov to the town of Kurdzhali and, I believe, did everything possible to build this bridge and to understand why things are being presented in this manner.

In order to explain this situation, I am obliged to make two explanations, and I am saying this with a great sense of responsibility.

It is an act of public and political manipulation to say that the Nationwide Committee and the Rights and Freedoms Movement oppose each other. To this moment, they have never confronted each other.

In the second place, the Nationwide Committee For the Defense of National Interests and the The Fatherland Party of Labor do not struggle against people who declare themselves to be Turks.

Let this be clear and let everyone understand that it is a manipulation to accuse the Nationwide Committee of gross nationalism, chauvinism, counter-revolutionary activities, or fascism.

The very fact that nearly a month ago—and this can be verified in the Presidential Chancery—the leadership of the Fatherland Party of Labor and the Nationwide Committee submitted a request for the liberation of political prisoners who consider themselves Turks and who are still detained in Stara Zagora prison, and whose guilt was not confirmed, proves that we are in favor of equal rights for Bulgarian citizens, and not for the rights

of ethnic communities. Therefore we place the affairs of all Bulgarian citizens on a legal basis. If at this moment a situation such as the present one has emerged in Kurdzhali, it is not directed against the members of the Rights and Freedom Movement, it is not directed against people who declare themselves as ethnic Turks on the basis of the self- determination principles. The actions are directed against the violation of laws here, in this Grand National Assembly, and according to the documents which were recently submitted to you, the motivations of the strike going on in the city of Kurdzhali at this moment are more than clear.

An institution, such as the Grand National Assembly cannot violate procedural questions and should not fail to react when complicated problems are treated from a narrow party point of view. At this moment, I would not like to dwell in detail on all these things, but the difficult situation in Kurdzhali is caused by the fact that people just do not understand how six months after the declaration of the Social Council, which we all recognized to be the backbone of legislative Bulgaria was issued, not even one decision related to it has been adopted in this respect.

People yesterday said: We no longer believe you; we no longer believe those who are around you; we do not believe that they will ever understand our concerns. People at this moment are not on strike; they do not create ethnic hostilities. There are security organs here which can prove that, so far, the leaderships of our two parties have not created any unrest and that there are no hostilities between us and the Rights and Freedoms Movements, am I not right, Mr. Doganov?

Why, then is our public opinion manipulated in this manner, saying that the Movement for Rights and the Nationwide Committee are creating a national hostility?

Therefore, when you are discussing a declaration, or an appeal to the citizens of Kurdzhali, they demand reassurance that as long as a code of regulations for the work of the National Assembly has not been adopted, as long as laws have not been adopted, it shall not be permitted to establish parliamentary groups, factions, and so forth as an aim in themselves. Excuse me; I am not giving you instructions, I am just explaining how you should proceed. Because, if you see a declaration at this moment which has been submitted on the basis of (?nine) requests, it means that most political parties share these requests. So, where is this nationalism and chauvinism, which all media are writing about?

I would like to answer immediately the colleagues from the daily DEMOKRATSIYA! Yes, I assume the responsibility for my fellow citizens, despite the fact that I am not the man who has given them instructions for their actions, but I am obliged to assume the responsibility because these citizens have elected me. Thank you.

BSP Appeals for Calm, Favors Assembly Role

AU1907204990 Sofia BTA in English 2010 GMT 19 Jul 90

[Text] Sofia, 19 Jul (BTA)—Among other things, the Grand National Assembly discusses the ethnic problem, but the strikes and the protests against the registration of the Movement for Rights and Freedoms as a party and against the presence of its MPs in parliament are escalating around the country.

The Committee for Defense of National Interests in the town of Khaskovo today called on the inhabitants of the town to go on an indefinite effective strike and to stop food supplies for the capital city. The committee demands a publication of the Ministry of Internal Affairs documents on the pro-Turkish and Pan-Islamic organizations and about their anti-Bulgarian activity. The appeal urges the Prosecutor's Office to take measures against the "manifestations of mob law and harassment on the part of pro-Turkish nationalists."

Three days ago 40 people of the village of Zhultusha, Khaskovo region, declared a relay hunger strike. Today they warned the Government that if their demands are not met by July 25, they will continue their strike in front of the National Assembly building. One of the demands of the people of Zhultusha is for their village to be incorporated into the region of Plovdiv.

The members of the Committee for Defense of National Interests in the town of Burgas insist that the Grand National Assembly do not allow the formation of ethnic-based parliamentary factions. They want the disqualification of MPs who were involved in terrorist and anti-Bulgarian activity and also threaten to go on an effective strike.

The supporters of the Committee for Defense of National Interests in the town of Shumen attending a rally adopted a declaration opposing the registration of the Movement for Rights and Freedoms as a party and the formation of its parliamentary faction. After the rally they started a 24-hour token strike in front of the courthouse. Tomorrow the protest will grow into an effective relay strike involving enterprise and office staff if the demands are not met.

In the town of Razgrad, more than ten companies and economic organizations today took part with all or some of their employees in an effective indefinite strike declared yesterday. All shops except those stocking foodstuffs are closed.

In connection with the effective strike in Kurdzhali, organized by the leadership of the Committee for Defense of National Interests, the local leadership of the Movement for Rights and Freedoms has sent a declaration to the Grand National Assembly. It indicates that it is high time that the Prosecutor's Office take a stand on the manifestations of the Committee for Defense of National Interests and states that on the part of the movement there are not and there can be no manifestations of aggressiveness and provocation of incidents.

The Presidium of the Supreme Council of the Bulgarian Socialist Party has issued a declaration calling on all citizens of the country, irrespective of their ethnic, political and other differences, to stop immediately all actions which undermine the civil peace, the unity of the people and the rule of law in the country. The declaration points out that the Grand National Assembly is the venue where all pressing problems should be solved.

Further on Ethnic Conflict Debates in Assembly

AU1907212490 Sofia BTA in English 2030 GMT 19 Jul 90

[Text] Sofia, 19 Jul (BTA)—"There is no conflict between the members of the Movement for Rights and Freedoms and the Nationwide Committee for Defense of National Interests," said Mr Dimitur Arnaudov MP of the Fatherland Party of Labor, speaking in parliament today. He did not attend yesterday's sitting of the Grand National Assembly as he went to Kurdzhali where there is a wave of effective strikes and sit-ins. The strikers want a review of the legitimacy of the participation of the Movement for Rights and Freedoms in the elections.

The leader of the movement, Mr Akhmed Dogan MP, immediately confirmed that there is no conflict.

Mr Arnaudov said that in its political program, the Nationwide Committee for Defense of National Interests, of which he is chairman, and the Fatherland Party of Labor do not declare themselves against people who identify themselves as Turks. Mr Arnaudov said that the strikers want assurances that until the Grand National Assembly rules of procedure is drafted, parliamentary factions should not be allowed to form for their own sake.

In one of the breaks Mr Yunal Lyutviev MP, spokesman for the Movement for Rights and Freedoms, told the BTA that Mr Arnaudov's committee is organizing the events in Kurdzhali. In his view, the idea is to prevent the formation of a legitimate parliamentary faction of the movement. "Neither the political parties act nor the effective constitution make this illegal, we are an entirely legitimate political movement," he said.

The Central Council of the Movement for Rights and Freedoms submitted a declaration to the Grand National Assembly demanding an investigation of everybody who instigate ethnic and religious hostility. The movement insists on a review of the activity of the Bulgarian National Radical Party, the Bulgarian National Democratic Party and the Fatherland Party of Labor "which stir up mistrust and alienation between the ethnic communities."

Later on the Movement for Rights and Freedoms withdrew its accusations of racism and neofascism with respect to the National Democrats and the Fatherland Party of Labor. The movement issued its declaration of July 12 and since then the two parties have distanced themselves from the national radicals.

In its declaration the Movement for Rights and Freedoms wants a settlement of the ethnic issue by consensus among all political forces, respecting universal values and the international standards.

By July 24 the Commission on Declarations, Requests and Petitions, which was constituted today, is supposed to draft a reply to the movement's declaration, too.

TU Confederation Leaders Discuss Strike Action

AU1907132790 Sofia TRUD in Bulgarian 18 Jul 90 p 1

[Text] The leadership of the Confederation of Independent Trade Unions in Bulgaria and the National Strike Committee held a meeting on 17 July with chairmen of the municipal trade union councils, regional coordinators of the Confederation of Independent Trade Unions in Bulgaria, and the chief experts at the regional centers for trade union protection. The meeting was called not only in connection with the Memorandum of 9 July and the political consultations and talks held already, but also to discuss forthcoming trade union action at a local level. The meeting also considered the situation in connection with the daily sittings of the Grand National Assembly, and the outlook on whether the Assembly would start to function efficiently and respond to the issues raised in the memorandum.

In connection with the above, the meeting defined the means which the municipal coordinating councils could use to bring influence to bear, in order to promote the early consideration of the demands made in the memorandum, as well as their protest reactions in the event of parliament and the political forces remaining indifferent toward the memorandum.

Ognyan Krumov, chairman of the National Strike Committee, stressed that the aims of the memorandum were of national importance, and presuppose coordinated, well-organized national actions. It is not the aim of the Confederation of Independent Trade Unions to call a national strike; this is merely the last possible means for achieving the demands made in the memorandum.

The participants in the meeting clarified the principles for setting up municipal strike committees, strike committees in enterprises, the relations and coordination between these committees, and their readiness, if necessary, to call effective strike actions.

Parliament Agrees, Votes To Hear Zhivkov Address

AU1907181890 Sofia BTA in English 1743 GMT 19 Jul 90

[Text] Sofia, 19 Jul (BTA)—Today the Bulgarian Parliament almost stumbled over Todor Zhivkov. Yesterday the MPs decided by a 274 vote majority to allow the former supremo to speak before the Grand National Assembly, and they took nearly two hours today debating heatedly the when and the how of this address. The scandal broke out when the BSP [Bulgarian Socialist Party] MPs voted against item four on the agenda as

formulated by the chairman: That Zhivkov be heard by the Grand National Assembly immediately after the election of a president and that the Bureau of the parliament secure the implementation of this resolution.

After a break in which the leaders of the ruling party conferred with the opposition leader, the misunderstanding was sorted out. The Bureau of the Grand National Assembly will implement the resolution together with representatives of the parliamentary factions.

There were only three votes against this wording of the item on Zhivkov. Members for the BSP and for the SDS [Union of Democratic Forces] declared they found the formulation satisfactory.

"I don't think that anybody will be endangered by the truth, and Bulgaria and the Bulgarian people can be endangered least of all, and if there are individuals who are afraid, it is their own business," said Mr Aleksandur Lilov, the BSP leader speaking in the break. He declined to guess who will be the people who will be accused by Zhivkov, saying that the question should be put to Zhivkov himself.

"Zhivkov is healty by the standards of his age, he is even morally strong," Prof Dr Aleksandur Chrikov said in the break. He saw Zhivkov two days ago. Chirkov finds that the former number one is even better healthwise than in August 1989, when he examined him.

National Assembly To Elect President 20 Jul

AU2007083290 Sofia BTA in English 0739 GMT 20 Jul 90

["The Grand National Assembly Will Elect President of the Republic"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, 20 Jul (BTA)—The Grand National Assembly will elect today a chairman (president) of the Republic.

The Union of Democratic Forces (SDS) requested that the election be directly transmitted by the radio.

The parliament leadership said that while there are no regulations one cannot speak of parliamentary groups and factions. An M.P. of the Movement for Rights and Freedoms (MRF) objected to this interpretation. There are firm protests in this country lately against the formation of a parliamentary group of the MRF with the motive that the existence of a parliamentary faction based on an ethnic principle is unlawful.

Biography of National Assembly Chairman Todorov

AU1907141890 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 18 Jul 90 p 1

[Text] Nikolay Todorov was born in Varna on 21 June 1921. He completed two courses of higher education: in medicine, and in history and philosophy. He was a political prisoner from 1942 to 1944.

His scientific and teaching career began in 1950. He successively obtained all academic degrees and titles: from scientific associate and lecturer, Candidate and Doctor of Historical Sciences, to the title of academician, which he obtained in 1979.

He is a founder of the Institute of Balkan Studies under the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, and has served as its director for many years. He is also cofounder (in 1963), and has twice served as chairman of the International Association for Southeast Europe and Balkan Studies and of the International Center for Scientific Information on Balkan Studies, with its headquarters in Sofia.

He is the author of numerous scientific works. His work "The Balkan City from the 15th to 19th Centuries" has been translated and published in Russian, English, French, and Greek.

He has participated in many international conferences and delivered lectures at the most famous universities in Europe and the United States.

Nikolay Todorov was Bulgaria's first representative in the International Council of UNESCO (1972-76). At the UNESCO conference in Nairobi he was elected chairman of the commission on education, science, and culture. The 23d UNESCO General Conference elected him as its chairman.

From 1979 to 1983 he served as Bulgarian ambassador in Greece.

He is married, with three children and four grandchildren.

National Assembly Members Debate Draft Agenda

AU1907134790 Sofia BTA in English 1329 GMT 19 Jul 90

[Text] Sofia, 17 Jul (BTA)—The Grand National Assembly continues its session. The M.P.'s are debating the agenda of the session, the final passage of which was postponed for today.

Among the additional items are motions to hear Todor Zhivkov at the Grand National Assembly; a parliamentary inquiry into the circumstances surrounding the resignation of Mr. Petur Mladenov; a declaration to the parliament in Romania in connection with the condition of the environment in the city of Ruse; a moratorium on executions; a stand on the memorandum of the trade unions which threaten with a hunger strike if the parliament does not operate efficiently.

The factions argue over the agenda's timing of the election of a head of state on the agenda. A Union of Democratic Forces M.P. urged for the Grand National Assembly to go ahead with electing a president right today.

19 Jul Session Viewed

AU2007083090 Sofia BTA in English 2048 GMT 19 Jul 90

[Text] Sofia, 19 Jul (BTA)—The election of a president is item five on the agenda which the Grand National Assembly voted for during its first session today. The M.P.'s are likely to go ahead with electing a president tomorrow, as they were through with the first three agenda items this evening.

After choosing a head of state, parliament will hold a hearing of Todor Zhivkov. Just as yesterday, the debate on this item took up most of the M.P.s' time.

Instead of deciding to stay all executions, the Grand National Assembly will "validate" the actual moratorium on the carrying out of death sentences effective after November 10, 1989. This change of the wording was motivated by the fact that not a single death sentence has been carried out since that date.

Parliament will take a stand on the petitions, declarations and memorandums submitted to it. The M.P.'s formed an ad hoc parliamentary commission which will consider the submissions and will come up with draft replies by July 24. By that date the same commission will draw up a draft address in connection with public order in the country and a draft address to the parliament of Romania in connection with the condition of the environment in the city of Ruse.

When the government delivers its resignation to parliament, the state of the economy will be assessed.

A motion was carried to elect a commission to draft a bill on a general political amnesty for Bulgarian citizens residing in Bulgaria and abroad.

Today the M.P.'s elected a credentials committee and a Grand National Assembly rules of procedure drafting committee.

Opens 20 Jul With Set Agenda

AU2007075290

[Editorial Report] Sofia Domestic Service at 0700 GMT on 20 July begins a live relay of the continuation of the first session of the Seventh Grand National Assembly.

Reporter Tasveti Gerov notes that yesterday evening the parliament finally agreed the agenda, and lists the first items on the agreed agenda:

"First. Election of a commission to examine the elections, a mandate commission." Gerov adds that the election was conducted "after 2200 (1900 GMT) last night," with Metropolitan Pankratiy appointed as the commission's chairman.

"Second. Election of a commission to prepare draft regulations for the operation of the Grand National Assembly." Gerov says this commission "was also elected at about 2100 (1800 GMT) last night." The commission chairman is Ginyo Ganev.

"Third. Election of an interim commission to deal with the declarations, memoranda, petitions, etc. submitted to the Grand National Assembly." Gerov says that this commission is instructed to prepare draft parliamentary responses to these documents by 24 July, and that it is also to prepare "a draft appeal of the Grand National Assembly in connection with public order in the country," a "draft appeal to the Parliament of Romania" on the ecological situation in Ruse.

Gerov says that this morning the parliament will deal with item four of the agenda: "Proposal for postponing the execution of death sentences which have been passed." He adds that "it is expected that today debates will start on item five: Election of a president of the Republic in connection with Petur Mladenov's wish for his powers to be discontinued ahead of term, expressed in his letter of 6 July 1990."

Gerov adds that item six should be: "Hearing by the Grand National Assembly of Todor Zhivkov."

At 0704, Chairman Nikolay Todorov formally opens the session, noting that 388 members are present, and states that today parliament has to deal with items four and five of the agenda (as listed above).

Moratorium on Death Sentences Passed

AU2007090490

[Editorial Report] Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian at 0700 GMT on 20 July begins a live relay of the continued first session of the Seventh Grand National Assembly.

At 0731 GMT, the debate on the death sentence moratorium begins.

Pencho Penev, minister of justice, answering a question, confirms that the moratorium has been observed throughout the period following 10 November 1989. Yuliy Bakhnev of the Rights and Freedoms Movement (MRF) cites statistics according to which in the past Bulgaria was one of the countries in which the greatest number of executions were carried out. Minister Penev is called upon to answer several more questions. Several deputies, mainly from the BSP, express support for death penalties for terrorist acts and crimes against children.

Stara Zagora Metropolitan Pankratiy makes an emotional appeal against the death sentence on religious grounds.

Aleksandur Yankov, the last to speak on the issue, explains that in view of the abolition of the former State Council, the National Assembly is now responsible for amending death penalties.

At 0805 GMT, Chairman Todorov calls a vote on the death penalty moratorium. The moratorium is unanimously adopted, with a few abstentions.

Rights and Freedom Movement Regional Declaration

AU1907170990 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1504 GMT 19 Jul 90

["Text" of "declaration" by the Kurdzhali Regional Committee of the Rights and Freedoms Movement read by unidentified spokesman of the Movement's parliamentary group at National Assembly session in Sofia on 19 July—live]

[Text] I will begin by reading the declaration of the Regional Committee of the Rights and Freedoms Movement which is addressed to the Grand National Assembly, but since at this moment the post office in Kurdzhali is occupied, it could not arrive by mail, therefore the committee asks me to read the text to you:

It is not the first time that people pursuing biased goals permit themselves to deprive others of their rights. We shall raise some questions to which everyone should answer according to his conscience and should draw the necessary conclusions.

The Committee for the Defense of National Interests has organized occupation strikes and appeals for continuing them until the full victory. A victory, on behalf of what, at whose expense, and against whom? A victory at what price?

Is it legitimate, considering the first steps of creating a democratic constitution in the country, to undermine the already shaken prestige of this country? Is it legitimate, when our economy is hardly consolidated, and the foreign debt is increasing to proceed toward occupation strikes, thus depriving other people from their right of labor. Will Bulgaria succeed without working?

Is it altogether legitimate to consider this as a sort of counteraction? Is this the way to defend national interests? It is high time for the prosecutor's office to adopt measures against the new illegal act of the Nationwide Committee.

Trains and buses are stopped, the taxi drivers are most willingly offering their services. Is this a coincidence? Is the apprehension expressed by some supporters of the Regional Council of the Nationwide Committee for the Defense of National Interests at the 18 July, 1990, rally that certain forces may provoke incidents?

Is this not a conscious and purpose-oriented preparation and manipulation of public opinion to announce to certain other forces the intentions of the Nationwide Committee for the Defense of National Interests, which perhaps may stage pogroms at their own initiative.

As to the Rights and Freedom Movement, we most categorically declare that on our part there is no and there can be no any manifestations of aggressiveness and provocation of incidents. On the contrary, we are doing everything possible to calm the situation in Kurdzhali and in the area.

We appeal to all sensible people to manifest the necessary restraint and common sense by not giving in to provocations. The organizers of such strikes should understand once for all that democracy cannot be divided, that there should not be democracy only for some and none for others. We are expecting the Grand National Assembly, as soon as possible, to adopt effective laws guaranteeing the peaceful and free exercise of human rights and obligations on the basis of the Human Rights Charter and of international agreements.

Leadership Declaration Issued

AU1907182890 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1510 GMT 19 Jul 90

["Text" of "declaration" by the Central Council of the Rights and Freedoms Movement read by unidentified speaker of the movement's parliamentary group at Grand National Assembly session in Sofia on 19 July— live]

[Text] To the Grand National Assembly:

Immediately following the Grand National Assembly elections, certain political forces, guided by narrow-minded party interests, tried to impose a discussion contesting the legitimacy of long-time established general human values in Bulgaria, which have a place in all civilized society and which are implemented in the international standards of human rights, such as the principle of equal rights for all Bulgarian citizens and the right of free participation in political life, and more specifically, the right of electing and being elected, regardless of their ethnical origins, or religious affiliations.

Such actions are actually aimed at obstructing the democratic process by placing different ethnic and religious communities of Bulgarian citizens in opposition to each other and objectively lead to the rehabilitation of Zhivkovism and its policy which led our country to disaster.

Our concern was also caused by some mass media, such as the dailies DUMA, DEMOKRATSIYA, BULGARIAN [word indistinct], BULGARIA, and others which contain unconfirmed and untrue statements directed at misinforming the Bulgarian readers about the nature, organization, and goals of the Rights and Freedoms Movement.

Along with this, certain political parties and organizations which are tolerated by the government organs and authorities are engaging in acts which violate the Constitution and the laws and are in contradiction with Bulgaria's national interests.

These actions, inspired by racist and chauvinist slogans, the rallies, demonstrations, strikes, and signature campaigns do not contribute to overcoming the estrangement between the communities in our country which was created by the totalitarian regime, they spread interethnic fears, and incite ethnic and religious hostilities.

We call attention at the fact that Bulgaria's international prestige and the country's efforts to overcome the existing

political, economic, ecological, and moral crisis and to promote a nationality policy reflecting the true national interests are closely related to the development of democracy and human rights, including the rights and freedoms of ethnic-cultural and religious-cultural communities.

The Rights and Freedoms Movement expresses its firm stand on the solution of the nationality issue through consensus among all political forces in the country by respecting the general human values and international standards.

Along with this, we express the most categorical protest against all actions aimed at fanning national and religious hostilities as a step toward the birth of racism and neofascism in Bulgaria.

The Rights and Freedoms Movement expresses its most profound concern about the development of such trends in the country's sociopolitical life and urges the Prosecutor's Office organs to adopt the following measures:

First, an investigation should be conducted against all persons who with their actions incite nationality hatred and religious hostility and thus obstruct the achievement of national consensus among Bulgarian citizens.

Second, and investigation of the activities of political parties and organizations, such as the Bulgarian National Radical Party, the Bulgarian National Democratic Party, and the Fatherland Party of Labor, which with their actions fan distrust and estrangement between ethnic and religious communities in Bulgaria.

The national interests and security of our country require national consensus and joint activities for the construction of a democratic society and a law-governed state, which should respect the rights and freedoms of all Bulgarian citizens.

Signed: The Central Council of the Rights and Freedoms Movement.

BZNS, Nikola Petkov BZNS on Closer Relations

AU1907202490 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1930 GMT 19 Jul 90

[Text] The parliamentary groups of the Bulgarian National Agrarian Union [BZNS] and of the Nikola Petkov BZNS have agreed on more closely coordinating their parliamentarian activities in the purpose of consolidating democracy and a rule-of-law system in Bulgaria. They shall work in close cooperation in preparing and submitting draft laws to the Grand National Assembly based on their own ideas and platforms. The two groups are resolved to hold regular consultations in the purpose of coordinating their joint stands.

It is pointed out in the agreement that this does not mean a separation of the Nikola Petkov BZNS from the parliamentary alliance with the Union of Democratic Forces, but is simply an expression of the two parliamentary groups' great desire to cooperate and jointly to express the common aspirations of all united agrarians for their future reunification.

Podkrepa Supports TU Confederation Demands

AU1907191890 Sofia BTA in English 1754 GMT 19 Jul 90

["TU Confederations Join Forces"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, 19 Jul (BTA)—"We expect an answer from the Grand National Assembly," recalled Prof. Krustyu Petkov, president of the Confederation of Independent Trade Unions in Bulgaria, speaking at a news conference today in connection with the confederation's memorandum which insists that by July 23 the parliament considers the demands for an early formation of a competent government, for going ahead with the economic reform, for disclosure of the truth about the country's finances and for calling to account the culprits for the crisis.

Agreement has been reached with the Podkrepa Labour Confederation on coordinated actions, and a contact group has been formed to raise further demands.

At the news conference the Executive Board of the Podkrepa Labour Confederation circulated a declaration supporting the demands of the Confederation of Independent Trade Unions in Bulgaria. Podkrepa urges the BSP [Bulgarian Socialist Party], which holds a majority in parliament, to form immediately a government. Podkrepa sides with the other demands contained in the memorandum of the other trade union confederation.

Symbols of Totalitarianism 'Piled Up' in Sofia

AU1907190590 Sofia BTA in English 1757 GMT 19 Jul 90

[Text] Sofia, 19 Jul (Evgeniya Drumeva of the BTA)—Attributes of totalitarianism and other junk were piled up in the square in front of the former Mausoleum of Georgi Dimitrov. The inhabitants of the "Town of Truth" announced that the heap will symbolize communism which is going to the ash heap.

There were two big slogans reading "Damn Communism" and "Damn Tseka," a punning allusion to a poem by Ivan Vazov and to the Bulgarian acronym of the former Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP]. The pile contains books by Todor Zhivkov, Georgi Dimitrov, Stalin, Lenin, issues of the Newspaper RABOTNICHESKO DELO and its successor DUMA, portraits of former members of the Politburo of the CC [Central Committee] of the BCP, of Mr. Petur Mladenov, Mr. Stanko Todorov, General Dobri Dzhurov and red banners. In about an hour the pile was heaped to a height of about two metres. One person contributed a rusty clockwork inscribed "economic mechanism of socialism." The heap was surmounted by a withered Christmas tree, adorned with a red garland and the BCP rules.

There was an auction of scarce items: several jar lids and a two-kilogramme sugar bag. One bidder for a lid called out "I give the elections." The sugar bag was knocked down at 10 leva, and a lid fetched as much as 5 leva. The auctioneers announced that the takings are for the inhabitants of the "Town of Truth."

The guard of honour, which stood sentry at and around the mausoleum round the clock, has been removed. On Tuesday night the body of Georgi Dimitrov had been taken out of the mausoleum but, as today's papers observed, no one saw how and when it happened. Rumour has it that there are secret passages beneath the mausoleum.

Later on the protesters formed a human chain from the "Town of Truth" to one of the streets near the parliament building. At one end of the chain there was a portrait of Todor Zhivkov saying "I want to say the truth." The participants in the protest said that if the Grand National Assembly fails to take a stand on their demands tomorrow, they will extend the human chain to the National Assembly building.

City Council Names Dimitrov Mausoleum Commission

AU1907195890 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1900 GMT 19 Jul 90

["Text" of "announcement" issued by the Sofia City Council; place and date not given]

[Text] The Executive Committee of the Sofia City People's Council has established, at its own initiative, a commission in charge of submitting a project on the future function of the former Georgi Dimitrov mausoleum.

The commission is headed by Academician Blagovest Sendov, chairman of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences.

It includes architects, artists, representatives of creative unions, and of various political forces.

The commission is expected to submit its proposal by by 1 August, 1990 by examining the numerous opinions and proposals submitted by various institutions, organizations, and citizens.

Interior Ministry Views Ilinden Organization

AU1907171490 Sofia BTA in English 1605 GMT 19 Jul 90

[Text] Blagoevgrad, 19 Jul (BTA)—After the District Court in Blagoevgrad turned down the application for registration of the Ilinden Organisation, a move which won public approval, the regional directorate of internal affairs issued a statement that the organisation was intended, inspired, organised by and receives moral, organisational and material support from a foreign power and is entirely to the detriment of Bulgaria.

The Ministry of Internal Affairs authorities have recorded dozens of actions which run counter to the Bulgarian Constitution and the law of the land. The document says that "the leaders and some members of Ilinden are undoubtedly linked with interested foreign departments and institutions and their representatives in Bulgaria."

The regional directorate of internal affairs, which has taken the necessary measures against the violations of Ilinden, assures the public that in future, too, everything possible will be done in line with the constitutional interests of the Bulgarian people and in harmony with the effective legislation.

In this spirit, the regional directorate and the district prosecutor's office in Blagoevgrad have discussed joint measures.

Turkish Envoy Handed Note on Black Sea Incidents

AU1907172190 Sofia BTA in English 1457 GMT 19 Jul 90

[Text] Sofia, 19 Jul (BTA)—Mr. Yalcin Oral, the ambassador of the Republic of Turkey, was summoned to the Consular Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and was handed a note in connection with the increasingly frequent trespassing of the Bulgarian sea border on the part of Turkish fishing vessels and the provocative actions of a gendarmerie patrol boat.

The ambassador was told that these actions are unlawful and inadmissible in the relations between two sovereign states and that the conduct of the crew of the Turkish gendarmerie patrol boat on July 15, 1990, was not only a deliberate trespassing of the international sea border but also a gross encroachment on the sovereignty of Bulgaria.

Bulgaria firmly insists that the competent Turkish authorities take all necessary measures for an immediate end to these violations.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs has been authorised to declare that such actions could lead to serious incidents with the most undesirable consequences, the entire responsibility for which will rest with Turkey.

Rumors of Black Sea Contamination 'Unfounded'

AU1907183290 Sofia BTA in English 1552 GMT 19 Jul 90

["No Radioactive Contamination of Black Sea Coast"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, 19 Jul (BTA)—The fears of a radioactive contamination of the Black Sea Coast are unfounded, according to Mr. Valentin Bosevski, deputy minister of the environment, and Prof. Ivan Uzunov, head of a dosimetry and radiological protection laboratory.

Radiation monitoring, including the analyses of samples of the sea water, the sand, fish and mussels, conducted at the beginning of the summer, did not show any deviations from natural radiation levels. The readings do not differ from the background levels for the 1974-1984 period (before the Chernobyl accident). The content of

strontium 90 and caesium 137 and 134 in the seawater is insignificant, and the activity of the natural nuclides uranium, radium, thorium and potassium is low.

The only exception is the Bay of Vromos, to the west of the village of Chernomorets, where the years of discharge of flotation waste from the Burgas copper orefield has caused a local radioactive contamination. Here the content of radium 226 is about 2.6 times higher than that in drinking water, and the gamma background level of the beach is six to seven times higher than the natural level of background radiation. Warning signs have been placed in the area.

Prof. Uzunov pointed out that thanks to the huge dissolving capacities of the ecosystem, seawater is perhaps the safest environment with respect to radiation. The lack of other local sources of radioactive contamination (apart from the Burgas orefield) gives grounds for optimism.

Sanctions on USSR Over Oil Supplies Planned

LD1907165590 Prague CTK in English 1327 GMT 19 Jul 90

[Text] Prague July 19 (CTK)—Czechoslovakia will require a penalty from the Soviet Union for non-performance of the contract on oil supplies under the conditions of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance, director general of the Chemapol company Vaclav Volf has told CTK.

This penalty depends on the number of days from delay and can amount to eight per cent from the value of oil that had not been supplied. It will be paid in roubles. The CMEA conditions do not recognize the category of compensation for damages.

Vaclav Volf confirmed that Chemapol will require this penalty for non-performance of the contract anyway as Czechoslovak customers will debit the oil importer, i.e. Chemapol, with a contractual penalty.

'Explosive Situation' Due to Oil Cuts Unexpected

LD1907183790 Prague CTK in English 1642 GMT 19 Jul 90

[Text] Prague July 19 (CTK)—Petr Kucera, who directs the Council of the Civic Forum Coordinating Centre, told newsmen here today that the explosive situation that arose on Czechoslovak market in connection with cuts of Soviet oil supplies was not expected.

Informing journalists about the present situation in the Civic Forum, he said that the period of thinking about the organizational structure of the Civic Forum and its coordinating centre in Prague is over. These questions will be dealt with by the Saturday's assembly of the Civic Forum.

Czechoslovak Minister Vladimir Dlouhy said that contract Soviet oil supplies would be down by a third (400,000 tonnes) in July and August. From September to December, they will be cut by another 700,000 tonnes. The total reduction will be around 2.5 million tonnes this year. Compared with contracts for 16.6 million tonnes, the reduction will be around 15-16 per cent.

The government has already decided to import car petrol, earmarking almost 1,000 million crowns for its supplies from world markets. This step was taken because the construction of a hydrocracker at Slovanaft Bratislava did not continue sufficiently quick. The hydrocracker will start operations in September. The government has taken austerity measures and can draw from state reserves. It seems that with lower consumption of petrol after its price went up by 50 per cent at midnight, the present deficit of petrol will be covered.

Czechoslovakia will have to import about one million tonnes of crude oil by the end of this year from the world markets. Half of this amount will be imported from the Middle East countries as payment for outstanding debts, mainly by means of the pipeline Adria. The rest will have to be imported from the world markets on the account of debts of the country. "Of course we are looking at all ways to keep our foreign debt as low as possible," Vladimir Dlouhy said.

As regards the possible sanctions against the Soviet Union for failing to meet oil contracts, he said that Czechoslovakia first of all wants to negotiate. Czechoslovak Foreign Trade Minister Slavomir Stracar leaves for Moscow on July 23 and Vladimir Dlouhy said he himself would have talks on August 1-2 with Yuriy Maslyukov, chairman of the Soviet Economic Planning Agency Gosplan, i.e. the highest representative who deals with these affairs after the premier.

Answering the question concerning Presidential Spokesman Michael Zantovsky's statement there there was friction between Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel and Czechoslovak Finance Minister Vaclav Klaus, Mr Klaus said he was asked this question many times and always answered: No comment. He added: "We are in a very complicated process of seeking a consensus on enormously complicated questions of the transformation of our economy, a consensus on things that were tabooed for four decades, and there is no wonder that it takes some time to find such a consensus and that all of us in this country are harmonizing our views."

Speaking about the planned liberalization of prices due to take place on January 1, 1991, Vaclav Klaus said that the Government was of an opinion that by this date prices will not be practically changed, perhaps with the exception of partial settlement of prices of industrial products. He described the cuts in oil supplies as exogenous shocks that make the Government rise prices more than it supposed.

Vladimir Dlouhy said that present panic buying of detergents was unnecessary. The producers have enough raw materials and no rise in their prices is decided.

Vaclav Klaus said that another exogenous shock will occur after January 1, 1991 when the conditions of payment, financing and price creation between the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA) countries will change. The situation will be the more complicated that the time of the exogenous shocks will coincide with Czechoslovakia's own reform steps.

As regards the rise in petrol prices by 50 per cent, Vaclav Klaus said that the rise could result in limiting the demand by 20 per cent. He explained the higher price of leadless petrol by the fact that the capacity for its production is quite insufficient. That is why it could not be privileged though from the ecological view this would be logical.

Unification 'Negative Influence' on GDR Trade

LD1907165690 Prague CTK in English 1315 GMT 19 Jul 90

[Text] Prague July 19 (CTK)—The creation of an economic and monetary union between both German states has a strong negative influence on trade exchange between the GDR and Czechoslovakia, declared Czechoslovak Deputy Minister of Foreign Trade Miroslav Cuker at a press conference in Berlin on Tuesday, this week.

Miroslav Cuker, who in the last few days held talks with the East German side on topical issues of mutual trade cooperation, stated that the mutual balance of payments is greatly deteriorating to the detriment of Czechoslovakia.

According to the deputy minister contracts have not as yet been concluded for the export of Czechoslovak goods to the GDR worth 175 million rubles even though the deliveries were agreed upon the signing of an annual trade exchange protocol. There is also a further 230 million rubles worth of orders for Czechoslovak goods which East German enterprises have already cancelled or intend to do so.

The GDR is also not drawing on the financial resources for tourism worth 3.500 million [as received] crowns (1 USD = 16.32 crowns) for which Czechoslovakia has already withdrawn East German products.

"If this development continues Czechoslovakia's adverse trade balance in relation to the GDR will amount to 800 million rubles by the end of 1990. This would correspond to aproximately 70 percent of the agreed Czechoslovak exports," stressed Miroslav Cuker. He also pointed out that Czechoslovakia has the chance to level out this adverse balance by a radical limitation of exports to the GDR, but it does not want to take this action.

Reunification Issues Seen as Spiritual Decline

AU2007084390 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 14 Jul 90 p 6

[Michal Berko commentary: "Seeking New Essentials"]

[Text] Kohl's visit to the Soviet Union will certainly have several priorities; this will provide many observers with the justification for giving it many attributes. However, for someone like myself who has been monitoring developments in the "German-speaking countries" for years, the fact that the outcome of the great political turnaround in Germany's postwar development—a turnaround which K. Adenauer began and which W. Brandt and H. Schmidt continued—is today being reaped and harvested by a politician of the H. Kohl-type leaves a bitter taste in the mouth.

Therefore, I have to mention the alarm expressed by Jacob Burckhardt (1818-1897), one of the great European historians, when he stated his views on German unity and conquest at the time of Bismarck and Napoleon III. He saw for Europe in this the beginning of a road toward the dominance of material gain over spiritual values and the beginning of the capitulation of the European spirit, a spirit which had been vibrant from the time of Ancient Greece to the 19th century. Burckhardt's "Views on World History" are a valid contribution to Europe and were for me a source of ideas for overcoming the division of Europe (and Germany). In 1985, therefore, I considered unification to be a matter of decades.

There were two alternatives—either this would occur in the style of a modern Genoa Pact or it would be possible to incorporate the entire step in the Helsinki process. The cardinal issue had been to contain this whole process and the envisaged sociopolitical upheavals in Central Europe within specific limits.

It was clear that another alternative like the one adopted by Bonn and Paris in the mid 1960's—unification by swallowing the GDR—would not be taken into consideration. The Austrian method of development had already been revealed as an illusion to the GDR following the first mass German invasions of the embassies in Budapest, Prague, and Warsaw. The reform forces' disappointment at this development is merely a sad and additional reminder of their attempt to reform socialism on German soil.

Kohl is going to Moscow in a situation when he no longer has to ask for anything; the game is coming to an end and unification (originally only associated with restructuring the outcome of the war) is here! However, this is one of the historical successes of the restructuring policy because it has been possible to create an internal German affair out of an issue that threatened to mushroom into a pan-European crisis and war. The question is, how long will this situation last? The unified Germany will still be occupied with its reunification for a couple of years. However, it is now important for us to remind France, Britain, Italy, the United States, and the USSR of the lesson from Munich. It is necessary to remind them to think about the fears expressed by Burckhardt, that is, to what extent is this second German unification in Europe's modern history the beginning of the old continent's road toward a new dominance of material gain over spiritual values?. Empty shelves in stores in Moscow and throughout the Soviet Union and modern and overfull stores in the West. From Houston the rich West is again jingling its purse in front of poor Russia. Let us look at this spiritual confrontation and let us think about it! Quickly!

Commentary on Houston Economic Summit

AU1907111290 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 13 Jul 90 p 6

[Ivan Horsky commentary: "A New Division of Labor"]

[Text] The summit of the seven most industrialized Western states in Houston, Texas, was a certain breakthrough in the long tradition of these summits. While U.S. interests and ideas dominated until last year, development in the USSR and other European countries has introduced even here—I do not want to say contradictions—a stronger presentation and defense of Japanese, as well as FRG, French, and Italian interests.

This could be seen most clearly when dealing with the question of aiding the collapsing Soviet economy—despite the fact that the "seven" adopted a compromising attitude that prior to providing far- reaching financial and economic aid, the overall state of the USSR economy must be examined by a group of experts from the World Bank, the IMF, the OECD, and the Bank for East European Development. It could be said that it is a kind of victory for Washington, London, and Tokyo, which demand—and from their point of view apparently justly so—that before billions of dollars are spent on a health cure for a "sick communist nation," Moscow must first limit its defense spending (reaching 18 percent of the budget) as well as aid to Cuba, which has reached the astronomical sum of five billion dollars a year. This, according to the White House and its partners, helps Castro's anti-democratic regime to keep its head above water and, even more, it helps this regime to undertake various destabilizing actions in the world.

By freezing credit, Japan wants to force the USSR to return the four South Kuril islands which, according to Tokyo, were illegally occupied after the war; or, at least, it wants to begin negotiations on the subject. Moreover, Japan is starting to play its "Chinese card," since it is determined, despite the resistance of other partners, to renew, or even extend, its economic cooperation with Beijing, including new large credits. It is determined despite the fact that many Western countries are not willing—due to the bloody suppression of democratic forces last year—to revoke all the sanctions against China.

Due to the fact that the presidents and heads of governments were unable to agree upon a unified standpoint toward this question, there was nothing left but to agree that they would make no agreements and that, in fact, everyone would make his own policy. Tokyo, Bonn, Paris, and Rome consider this to be victory of some kind, an end to the U.S. dictate, and a recognition of their autonomous goals financed from their own pockets, including aid to Moscow. West Europe, as opposed to the United States, will have to continue to live in the USSR's neighborhood and cannot permit dramatic reversals threatening to destabilize the entire continent to take place.

The long-lasting discussion about the controversial agricultural subsidies ended with the adoption of a healthy compromise. The Houston conference participants called on all GATT members to elaborate, in two weeks, a "joint measure" for the gradual removal of these subsidies (for the time being without a time limit). This is supposed to successfully finalize the "Uruguay round" of GATT concentrated on the liberalization of world trade. This slight concession by the EC is a result of U.S. pressure during which C. Yeutter, minister of agriculture, warned the partners in no uncertain terms that if there are no positive results before the year's end, Congress is determined to increase the subsidies for agricultural exports.

Besides this, they also discussed other problems in Houston and the results have been implemented in various documents.

In the political declaration, the democratization process in Central and East Europe, as well as the "USSR's intentions to move toward a democratic system," were welcomed. This declaration also appreciates the greater openness in Mongolia and Nepal, Namibia's independence, the first steps taken to solve the crisis in the RSA, as well as the appearance of anti-totalitarian and democratic structures on the South American continent. The "seven" also expressed the hope that Cuba, too, will join these tendencies. In Houston, they expressly condemned all the manifestations of political and religious intolerance—causing many conflicts—and the suppression of human rights and liberties.

Finally, it is possible to state that the West is changing its strategy. Instead of the previously proclaimed unified action, it chose a certain autonomy based on regional interests and needs, that is, a division of labor in the triangle: the United States, Japan, and West Europe. Despite all the variances, the West has identical final goal—to push for fundamental principles of political and economic freedom throughout the world.

Hungarian TV Program Criticized

AU1907154590 Bratislava SMENA in Slovak 13 Jul 90 p 3

[Jaroslav Dojcak commentary: "Audacity or Tactlessness?"]

[Text] There is a well-known custom that prior to a visit by a head of state, the media informs the general public about the agenda and purpose of the meeting and about the state of mutual relations between the states involved, or rather, what is expected from the visit and what aims it pursues. The commentary by the Czechoslovak correspondent in Budapest broadcast on Bratislava Radio on the eve of the visit to our republic by Arpad Goncz, Hungarian president, was in this spirit. I was absolutely shocked when a completely different tone was set by Hungarian Television. Immediately after the news on Wednesday [11 July] evening, a half-hour program on the Trianon Treaty, called "A Peaceful Diktat," was broadcast. I think we can justifiably ask what aim this program pursued and how our viewers are supposed to interpret this circumstance immediately prior to the arrival in our country of the neighboring head of state. Is this deliberate audacity or tactlessness from the Hungarian side? At a time when both states are initiating new

prospects for cooperation and when they are embarking on a common path toward the European home and toward a broader Central European- Adriatic coexistence, is it necessary to return and draw attention to a past where we cannot find a common denominator and on whose problems we have diametrically opposing views? Was this a suitable time to talk about the "injustices" of Trianon when the Hungarian president was preparing to visit Bratislava? Is it possible to believe the sincerity of the most senior Hungarian political representative's words when, at the same time, historical reminiscences—which Slovaks are also sensitive about—referring to a "mutilated" Hungary are being dusted off?

In order not to make general statements, I will outline some of the information contained in the Hungarian Television program. Overall, the Trianon peace treaty was viewed through old eyes and from an exclusively one-sided point of view. The axiom was repeated about the loss of two-thirds of Hungarian territory, which means that Hungarian policy today still claims to speak on behalf of the non- Hungarian people who left pre-1918 Hungary voluntarily on the principle of the right to self-determination. Our viewers would not have been pleased with the emphasis placed on the great mission undertaken by the ill-famed Albert Apponyi at the peace talks in Paris in 1920; the long quotations from his speech were also without comment. Very moving, almost nostalgic, melancholy music played while on the screen places belonging to former pre-1918 Hungary were shown and while a map of the divided pre-1918 Hungarian state was displayed. Photographs from the most original revisionist publications, intended to illustrate the overall political atmosphere, were certainly not lacking. Attacks were also made against the Czechoslovak state which, apparently, acquired its borders to the detriment of Hungary and which suppressed the Hungarian ethnic minority; this is, naturally, an invention of Horthyite propaganda. The Hungarian ethnic minority in our country had—in many respects—more rights, particularly in the social sphere, and had at its disposal civil and democratic rights that even the population of Hungary at that time did not have. The ethnic policy of pre-1918 Hungary was discussed, although it overtly falsified historical truth with the claim that pre-1918 Hungary's ethnic policy during the period of dualism gave the ethnic minorities greater rights than the succeeding states did between the two wars. The old revisionist slogans and speakers appeared on the screen demanding that "wrongs" be rectified and that St. Stephen's empire be renewed; however, these remained without comment and, therefore, were intended to convince the viewer of the justification of Hungary's territorial claims.

This evening, I was very sad when I switched off the television. I realized that even in today's Hungary they still have not done away with the heritage of the past and that they are beating on a drum which will not lead to the establishment of a harmonious political atmosphere between neighbors, but, on the contrary, will ignite political passions and ignore the fundamental pillars of contemporary Europe, which rest upon the final act of the Helsinki agreement. I doubt whether in such a situation the Hungarian president's visit will help to remove the historically ingrained distrust that Slovaks have in Hungary and in its policies.

Havel Recalls State Defense Council Officials

LD1907174490 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1630 GMT 19 Jul 90

[Text] In accordance with the Constitutional Law on the State Defense Council, Vaclav Havel, president of the republic, has recalled from the post of deputy chairman Valtr Komarek, and has apppointed Vaclav Vales to this post. He also recalled Milan Cic and Richard Sacher from the posts of members of the State Defense Council. He appointed to these posts Vladimir Meciar and Jan Langos.

Havel Confirms Intent To Visit Salzburg

LD2007123190 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 1000 GMT 20 Jul 90

[Text] President Vaclav Havel has answered the Charter 77 document, in which its signatories pointed out to him that by taking part in the Salzburg festival and by meeting President Waldheim, he could cast in doubt the ideals of our civic movement and our current policy.

Vaclav Havel has arrived at the conclusion that he would not betray his obligations and ideals by taking part in this action. His decision is an expression of respect for the Salzburg festival and, first and foremost, for the Austrian people. He voiced his resolve to do everything in his power in order to deepen friendship with our southern neighbors, with whom we are bonded by 1,000 years of ties.

Vaclav Havel also recalled that even at the time when he was a persecuted citizen, he was asked by Austria to open the Salzburg festival. He therefore perceives this request as a great honor and as an expression of respect for his literary work and his struggle for human rights, and not as a political act. Vaclav Havel emphasized that at issue is a matter of an exclusively cultural nature, and that he wishes to appear in Salzburg as a writer.

Calfa on Jurisdiction of Governments

AU1907084590 Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech 11 Jul 90 pp 1, 4

[Interview with Premier Marian Calfa by LIDOVE NOVINY correspondent Jaroslav Veis in Prague on 5 July: "The Art of Taking Care of Oneself"; first two paragraphs are LIDOVE NOVINY introduction]

[Text] At the end of June, we carried an interview with Marian Calfa, premier of the Government of National Consensus. Since then his government resigned. He himself was entrusted with forming the new government,

and he presented its policy statement to the parliament. President Vaclav Havel has again given a name to the government, this time denoting it the Government of National Sacrifice.

On the day of our conversation with the old-new premier, Vaclav Havel had just been elected for another two years to the office of the highest representative of Czechoslovakia, and the policy statement was still being discussed by the individual parliamentary committees.

[Veis] Mr. Premier, so far you still cannot be certain that the parliament will give your government its vote of confidence. The policy statement, which has been given great attention and occasionally is criticized for certain generalization, will be the decisive factor. How did it in fact originate?

[Calfa] We conceived it in two stages. During the first, the ministers of the outgoing government described the expected development in their respective departments. Already the first discussion in the new government demonstrated, however, that many perceptions of further development differ. What matters most is that all members of the new government perceive the government statement as their own personal statement—that may be something entirely new in the modern postwar history of Czechoslovakia. The government met over the statement three times, and every government member vouches for each of its words.

[Veis] They are, however, rather general words....

[Calfa] The idea of such a statement is to profess a certain philosophy, conception, or direction for development. We promised, however, that we will present the individual steps, particularly those concerning the economic reform, one by one, as they become topical, for separate assessment. At this time, we have an absolutely clear idea of their sequence.

[Veis] Let us try to be more specific anyway.

[Calfa] We have completed three things. First, the transition to the internal convertibility of the koruna, which will have an impact on the national economy. Second is the reconstruction of the price concept, and third is the steps toward denationalization and privatization. These things are ready and we expect to discuss them in parliament in the fall with the understanding that they will go into effect next year.

[Veis] Until then, however, several months of some uncertainty await us, during which one can expect weariness from politics and fear of economic development.

[Calfa] That is not altogether true. After all, we have prepared, with the effective date of 1 May, legal conditions for the development of private enterprise and for the entry of foreign capital to the Czechoslovak market, we have provided foreign investors with legal guarantees, and we prepared legislation for the new system of commercial banks in Czechoslovakia. All this takes time to develop, and six months is not such a long time.

[Veis] What about the guarantees of inviolability of property which should be part of the Constitution? After all, that is the fundamental issue for every investor.

[Calfa] Even now, we legally guarantee that no property can be manipulated except in a legally determined manner, we ensure the transfer of part of the profit or, where appropriate, the return of the property abroad. I would like to stress that people still expect from the federal government that it will issue directives and make specific decisions. I was clear on that point in the [policy] statement: The government will be a political body operating within the framework of its jurisdiction as set out in the Constitution, and only by means that are within its competence rather than wihin the competence of the company general directors. People expect such interference, but they will be disappointed. That should not be a reason for insecurity. It is only a new perception of the operation of the highest government body.

[Veis] What will be the relationship of the federal government to the republic governments?

[Calfa] It will be a very complex relationship because, although all the governments will undoubtedly have the same goal—i.e., leading this country to some new qualitative form—the opinion on the division of jurisdiction between the federation and the republics will have to be crystallized. It is essential that Europe can regard us as a single state body; it does not think of Central Europe composed of tiny, self-absorbed states. We actually said in the policy statement what will stay in the jurisdiction of the federation: foreign policy, currency, statistics, and those branches of production that go beyond the republics, such as metallurgical works, transport, communications, fuel and power. We proposed to move some branches to the competence of the republics, and we must note that the representatives of the Czech and the Slovak Republics were not always of exactly the same opinion.

[Veis] What about Moravia, which is represented in parliament by an independent political movement?

[Calfa] An opinion has already been voiced that we should have a confederation [spolkove usporadani]. Of course, I do not know how representative the movement is, whether it expresses the opinions of all of Moravia and Silesia, and whether these are also the views subscribed to in Bohemia and in Slovakia. I believe, in view of the fact that a rather complex job awaits us in the preparation of the new constitutions, that it would be a good idea to form an international body of consultants, leading world experts on constitutional systems—and some have offered their services already—to help us objectively consider the situation. I do not exclude the possibility that they could even play the role of a certain arbiter.

[Veis] Hence, the future should also bring more power to the local and regional bodies, which will have to be more

independent in their decisions. What would happen in the case they decide to resist a federal government decision?

[Calfa] If we want to consistently abide by the principles of autonomy of cities and communities as the basis for the political arrangement of the state, the domain of competence of all levels of administration will also change, and we have to be prepared for something like that.

[Veis] The president has denoted you as the Government of National Sacrifice, and it might seem that the sacrifice is to be offered only by our nations. How do you think the people will react?

[Calfa] The president is a dramatist, and as such, albeit he is the highest ranking Czechoslovak statesman, he has the right to certain dramatic license. We must comprehend the term as an expression of the need for mutual trust, for understanding and tolerance on the part of all of us, not only as a sacrifice of people to the government. After all, what we are preparing is not something contrived by the government to get the people. These measures have an impact on all of us. None of us lives in an ivory tower. We shop, live with the ordinary daily worries, my wife is employed.

[Veis] Of course, the role of information is important here. An extensive discussion took place recently on the salaries and housing of the government members, and before that on their health care, soon the salaries of the members of parliament are to be discussed. Will the government make all these issues public immediately?

[Calfa] You mean that article by CTK? There is nothing wrong with the fact that the information appeared, but the commentary did not correspond to the facts and that is wrong. The bad thing was that it appeared just at the very end of the life of the former government. That added a drop of a somewhat different color to the atmosphere. In any case, we realized that the government had made a mistake, that it must make all information from its sessions public as long as it does not concern matters that must remain non-public by their nature.

[Veis] So, what will the rules be?

[Calfa] The government will simply make public all its decisions with the exception of those that cannot be made public for reasons of national security. Let us note, however, that the government decrees per se are not meant for publication. They simply are instructions for the government members to do this or that, and what is decisive is the work that gets done.

[Veis] Journalists, however, if they are to play the role in society they should have in a democracy, will always check on the government and be a bit suspicious of it.

[Calfa] That basically is public control, and I am all for it. I do not believe that if the government does not publish something, one can immediately suspect it of bad intentions. But we learned our lesson and will act accordingly. For instance, regarding the perquisites of the government members, which, in my opinion, do not exist, we will request that the Federal Assembly itself establish them by a law published in the Legal Gazette. And if the parliament is a legitimate body, then perhaps nothing more can be done. It is only a pity that the papers are not more concerned with the incomes of other people who make much more money than the government members, moreover, often contrary to the law, and lately, they do not even hide this.

[Veis] Let us stick with information policy. There is news indicating that you were too closely associated with the former regime, and it is being asked whether the tendency to continue its practices is not making itself felt. Among these routines were also hiding some decisions of the ruling bodies.

[Calfa] So we are again returning to my activities in the pre- November government and to the post of the chairman of its Legislative Council.

[Veis] In our previous interview you first answered our questions regarding this activity precisely and thoroughly. When you were authorizing the interview, you decided to leave out these answers and you substituted more general formulations. We objected, saying that sooner or later someone will attack you and perhaps in a very uninspired way and gutter style, which is then what happened.

[Calfa] I did it because I discussed these matters with the president and we agreed that it would not do to take a defensive stand. As far as that attack in EXPRES goes, the gutter press indiscriminately attacks state officials everywhere in the world and to respond to such attacks would be demeaning.

[Veis] Nevertheless, we are of the opinion that the more accurately the public is informed about everything—including your activity in the pre-November government—the healthier the political atmosphere and the less room for attacks in the style of the EXPRES article. We believe that you made a mistake when you left out those answers. We can, however, repeat your views on methods of the government at the time and on your role in it.

[Calfa] A typical example of preparation of some norms was, for instance, the legal measures on public order of last March. This decision was initiated by the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ] Central Committee Presidium which, in its own way, responded to the expressions of public dissatisfaction, to the publication of samizdat journals. These measures were prepared by Alois Indra with a group of deputies and it was nothing at all to do with the government. It was never suggested to the government, nor submitted to it for approval. Moreover, it eventually appeared as legal measures of the Federal Assembly Presidium. If anyone wants to link me with this because of my office of chairman of the Legislative Council, the information about what really

happened is readily available in the Federal Assembly archive: it was an initiative proposal by a group of deputies.

[Veis] So the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium entrusted Alois Indra, as the parliament chairman, with the task of arranging for these measures and it bypassed the government entirely?

[Calfa] Absolutely, and that was not a customary thing even at that time because matters of public order belonged to the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Interior and, therefore, of the government. The ministry as well as the governments were outmaneuvered here, and everything was settled between the political body and the Federal Assembly.

[Veis] At the time you, along with Zdenek Cermak, chairman of the Federal Press and Information Bureau, were also assigned by the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium the task of elaborating the amendment to the Press Law. This amendment was meant to intimidate the samizdat press and, therefore, also LIDOVE NOVINY.

[Calfa] I already mentioned that the Presidium assigned tasks without informing anybody beforehand as to what it would assign and how, and without asking anyone for his consent. It was all automatic. When it concerned laws, the Presidium called the government member in charge of legislation. It used to be Academician Laco, then it was I. Z. Cermak who prepared the amendment relatively quickly, and he did it in such a way that the horror of it made one's hair stand on end. It provided for personal searches—a thing unheard of in misdemeanor charges. Eventually, after a series of meetings, only fines remained for citizens and organizations who published unregistered press. Of course, registration was denied to them—it was a vicious circle. When Cermak prepared the amendment, I remember that it was the only example of the head of a government body submitting something like that directly to the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium.

Only then, did they assign Ladislav Adamec the task of discussing it in the government and presenting it to the parliament as a government proposal. We knew already then that it would be a great shame. We kept delaying it for five months, but the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium insisted. Finally, Adamec called me one day and said that it would result in an international disgrace and that we could deal with it in the government, but to make sure that the amendment would not see the light of day. That meant to cooperate with the Federal Assembly, the committees of which had to discuss the amendments. The amendment then never reached the plenary session of the Federal Assembly. The discussion of it was terminated already in the Cultural Affairs Committee, and I consider this to have been a success. One could oppose the then regime, not only by an outright rejection but, for instance, also by preventing such a legal norm from coming into effect. Incidentally, that is how one must comprehend the positive assessment I received in the characterization by the president in his speech to the parliament, and his utterance "that I tried, even in times past, within the framework of the limited opportunities, to move something forward."

[Veis] You mentioned that the Federal Assembly in a certain way cooperated in delaying this amendment to the Press Law. Does it mean that some deputies shared your opinion?

[Calfa] You know, you must not regard even the then parliament as a monolithic bloc. A number of deputies stuck to the totalitarian ideology and one could not talk to them, but one knew who they were. The legislative assembly per se, however, did not, at the time, feel like adopting laws contrary to human rights and international norms. The mood in the parliament was not unequivocal—although, when pressed, everybody gave the nod to everything.

[Veis] Have you ever come across the samizdat LIDOVE NOVINY?

[Calfa] I had three issues, those which carried articles dealing with some laws or with the Constitution under preparation.

[Veis] One would expect that as a member of the government you would be better informed, also about the opposition....

[Calfa] And by whom? People from the Federal Press and Information Bureau took the LIDOVE to the CPCZ Central Committee. Everything was decided there and, I believe, it was also there that it was decided whether I would receive any of the three issues they sent me. With the methods of management used, any information was more of a hindrance than a contributing factor.

[Veis] The possibility of expressing one's disagreement with the CPCZ Central Committee's policy by resigning from the post has, however, always existed. After all, Mr. Adamec, at one time, toyed with the idea of resigning. He is supposed to have had it all prepared but, eventually, he did not resign.

[Calfa] To resign meant to cut oneself off from the possibility of influencing anything. If there was anything at that time which the state power acted effectively upon, then it was precisely how it managed to reduce men to scraps. Eventually, the fact that Adamec did not resign made itself positively felt, however paradoxical it may seem to some. After all, what kind of an outcome would there be from the first roundtable discussion if Fojtik, for instance, were sitting on the CPCZ's side instead of Adamec?

[Veis] Only, he, too, managed to demonstrate an absurd lack of information. A couple of weeks before November, he stated in Austria that Vaclav Havel was a political nobody—just one month before he was elected president. We asked him in January how he could assess the situation so badly and, although he did not have to listen to the foreign radio broadcasts for one reason or

another, he did, after all, receive week after week of monitoring reports with all the important news right on his desk. At the time, he answered that his desk was covered by mountains of papers. Let us return to the present. Do you believe that the public will support your government?

[Calfa] If I were to judge by the majority of letters we receive, then the feeling would be positive. Personally, I experienced two moments which made a great impression on me—first, when the Public Against Violence movement offered me the candidacy to the parliament; second, when I was elected in the east Slovak region. The cognizance of people's support is extremely important. It provides the government and myself with self- confidence and demonstrates the correctness of an open policy which does not hide anything.

On the other hand, there are moments of certain disenchantment—for instance, the situation surrounding the price increases. We agreed to announce them immediately following the decision, to publish the new price lists, and to explain the decision. We resolved to clarify even the fact that the state coffers would not benefit from the increases, that it was only an economic maneuver to make the formation of realistic prices possible and to help remove the system of subsidies, a maneuver which was not intended to devastate people. It resulted in a shopping fever which swept the stores clean as if some kinds of goods did not even exist. People were buying dozens kilograms of sugar and butter. It is nonsense because a substantial part of food amassed in this manner will undoubtedly spoil. Suddenly letters are coming in telling us that this announcement of the increases was actually antisocial. Suddenly we must ask what to do next time. Are we to trust the public that it will not do the same thing and that it will not move from one shopping fever to another one? Are we to say to ourselves that we will publish some measures only at the moment when they are implemented? Only then everybody will suspect us of going back to the tactics of the old governments prior to November.

[Veis] But one must realize that the conduct of a great number of people will always be motivated, first of all, economically, just as one has to accept the fact that news of prepared price increases will leak to people even if the official announcement is delayed. The problem of timely and complete information on all decisions by your government and all future governments will always be the key to whether it will gain the vote of confidence, not only from the parliament but from citizens of this country as well—and they will express it best not by letters but by their conduct and by their reactions to government decisions.

[Calfa] But that should be obvious from the philosophy of our government policy statement! It expresses not only our goals as a government, but also what we all have to learn as citizens. The government is here to decide on the fundamental matters, but with regard to the individual regions, cities, communities, and companies, as well as individuals, each of us must learn to take care of himself. Only when we are unable to accomplish this, and when our knowledge is insufficient, will the state and its bodies step in as a reserve force.

Interior Minister Comments on Priorities

LD2007022190 Prague Television Service in Czech 1730 GMT 17 Jul 90

[Interview with Interior Minister Jan Langos by unidentified reporter on the "Television Journal" program; place and date not given—live or recorded; Langos in Slovak]

[Text] [Reporter] The Federal Ministry of Interior is no doubt among the most delicate and discussed ministries. No wonder that during the last eight months five men have already been in charge of it. It is possible to say that for Jan Langos it will not be easy in this post. He has been involved with the problem of human rights since the end of the 1970's, in addition to his work as an employee of the Academy of Sciences. He was a candidate for Public Against Violence in Bratislava and was elected a deputy of the Chamber of People of the Federal Assembly in June. Mr. Minister, what spheres will be your priority when tackling the pressing tasks of the ministry?

[Langos] During the short time since I began working in my post, I have become certain that the work of every person in this sphere who takes his job seriously and responsibly is very difficult indeed. I am determined to bring this ministry back to its main and only function: to secure all the liberties and rights of every citizen as given to him by the law, and, at the same time, to ensure the security of our state. This leads to the most topical task: to strengthen public security forces to relieve our public uncertainty and fears felt because of the increase in crimes. At the same time, there is a need to carry out conceptual changes, both in the ministry's aims and its reorganization and restructuralization.

[Reporter] What do you think about screening and the scandals which emerged in this context?

[Langos] Screening is a common method in the work of criminal investigation teams and generally in the work of national security corps in the course of performing their duty according to the law. The problem concerning to what aims screening was used or began to be used is in substance a political problem or a political issue which emerged out of fear that the links between the members of state security and our citizens, which have been known for years or decades, can in various ways destabilize our political situation. The scandals which were provoked by screening in fact took place in the sphere which is not covered by the penal code and laws. This means a sphere of morality. I do not agree with turning these scandals into a political issue. Scandals take place in every historical period and in every society, but there is a need to see them as phenomenon which take place outside the legal sphere.

Stracar Discusses Future of Foreign Trade

AU1907142390 Prague Television Service in Czech 1730 GMT 13 Jul 90

[Report on statement by Foreign Trade Minister Slavomir Stracar on the "Televsion Journal" program; place and date not given]

[Text] Approximately one-third of Czechoslovak national income has been, and still is, produced by foreign trade—we received this information at the Federal Ministry of Foreign Trade along with the assurance that the active formation of a conceptual state foreign trade policy will be one of the main goals of the new leadership at the ministry. This is how the new man in the ministerial seat envisions the future of his sector:

[Begin Stracar recording in Slovak] We are, as of 1 January, initiating economic reform. We assume the internal convertibility of the koruna and price liberalization to be parts of this economic reform. The irreplaceable role of foreign trade in this process consists, on the one hand, of creating conditions favorable for exports and, on the other hand, of creating conditions favorable for import. This means that we will produce duty rates to protect domestic consumers and limits on the export of raw materials in order to prevent their outflow from the national economy, so that a sufficient supply exists for the processing industry. In other words, we must regulate demand and supply and prevent inconsistency. Further, our ministry is often viewed as a monopoly Moloch which does not allow anybody to enter the sphere of foreign trade. We want, very simply, we want and we already do demonopolize its activity, i.e., we are separating the state policy from the executive trade operations. At this time already 1,500 subjects have permission to operate in foreign trade. We are going to continue with this demonopolization, and we will even establish a consultation center for companies giving advice on how to enter foreign markets. I still would like to add that every state, be it federative, confederative, or a union, has a uniform foreign trade policy and always a single central Ministry of Foreign Trade which regulates and forms the foreign trade operations. [end recording]

Role of President in Present Government Viewed

AU1907142590 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 13 Jul 90 p 2

[Igor Cibula commentary: "The Castle Versus the Government"]

[Text] Despite the fact that the president told journalists that his office would not supplant the government, the composition of the office, as well as the number of its members, suggest that this might not be the case. The way he has performed in his office so far testifies to the fact that he is fully aware of the position of the so-called strong president which the current Constitution provides for him. That is exactly why some people are asking whether the advisers to President Vaclav Havel will not have a stronger influence on policy than the ministers in the federal government.

The strong composition of the Office of the President does not exclude collisions with the federal government in cases when the president will actively enter the process of adopting important decisions in the executive organs. Recent practice confirms that many of Havel's initiatives have significantly influenced the behavior of the government, as well as parliament. The dissimilarity with the previous conditions, however, is that now it will be done under the conditions of a democratically elected Federal Assembly and Cabinet constituted as such.

Another question pertains to the future position of the president in relation to the government of the Czechoslovak federative state and the federal parliament. The issue is whether the new Constitution will build upon the current state precedent, when the president remains in the key position in the power triangle: the Castle—the parliament—the government. Should some other alternative to the president's powers—which would emphasize the representative function of the state—be accepted then the Office of the President should be oriented toward relations between constitutional officials and the public.

Havel's office structure is somewhat reminiscent of the presidential staff at the White House in Washington. The U.S. President, however, is also head of the executive organs—that is, the head of the federal government. Despite the dissimilarity in the constitutional conditions of both presidents, it is also necessary to note that if the position of the national government is to be strengthened to the detriment of the federal government, then it is the president alone who could be an integrating element for our federative state.

Radio Director Calls for Law on Radio

LD1907200990 Prague CTK in English 1928 GMT 19 Jul 90

[Text] Prague July 19 (CTK)—Czechoslovak Radio Director Frantisek Pavlicek today accused the Czechoslovak Government of dilatorily elaborating a new law on radio.

At a press conference here today, Frantisek Pavlicek stressed that it is luxury not to issue a law on radio so far. Czechoslovak Radio thus stands outside law, which prevents it from establishing cooperation with foreign stations.

Spokesman of the Federal Government Zbynek Fiala said that the new law on radio and television is being elaborated and should be approved by the legislative corps in the nearest future. As late as at the beginning of autumn, the first licences for private radio stations should be granted.

The Czechoslovak radio director and the government spokesman agreed on the necessity of entire independence of radio from the state.

"We should reach economic self-sufficiency if we increase licence fees from the present 10 (it was eight crowns in the 1930's) to 25 crowns, which will not be allowed to us by anybody in the present situation," Frantisek Pavlicek said.

Radio Director on Media's Role

LD1907221890 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1630 GMT 19 Jul 90

[Summary] Frantisek Pavlicek, director general of Czechoslovak Radio, invited journalists for a news conference today. Pavlicek pointed out that radio was not as free as press because radio is a state institution paid by the state, and noted that the new president and government need some time to successfully carry out their policy. Radio must be quite careful what it broadcasts in order to avoid too many corrections.

Pavlicek outlined the division of Czechoslovak Radio in three units: Czech Radio, Slovak Radio—which de facto exists already—and Czechoslovak Radio. These units will be independent. Czechoslovak Radio should provide a broadcasting service for the federal government and be responsible for broadcasting abroad, commercial activity, and coordination with the Orbis publishing house. Fifteen members of the former radio management left, and overall 350 former radio employees have left from radio—this is 10 percent of the radio staff.

Federal Assembly Proceedings, Rulings Reported

Law Modifies Religious Property Relations

LD1907184890 Prague CTK in English 1519 GMT 19 Jul 90

[Text] Prague July 19 (CTK)—The Czechoslovak Federal Assembly today approved a law that modifies several property relations of holy orders and congregations and the archbishophric in Olomouc, North Bohemia.

Wrongdoings committed by the former communist regime also include the liquidation of orders and congregations and capturing their premises. In September 1949, abbots and leading respresentatives of orders were sentenced. In April 1950, members of all men's orders were place in concentrations camps and then sentenced to imprisonment or hard labour.

In 1950, the holy orders owned in Czechoslovakia about 800 buildings, and the number of monks and nuns amounted to 1,500. Already in the first months of this year, representatives of holy orders, whose legality was declared after the velvet revolution in Czechoslovakia, called on the Czechoslovak constitutional officials to return property to churches. At first, they asked one hundred buildings that are necessary for their activity. This was reduced to 74 buildings after an agreement with the Czechoslovak government, the parliament and representatives of the holy orders. This concerns the first stage of returning church buildings to holy orders.

ILO Conventions Approved

LD1907192990 Prague CTK in English 1742 GMT 19 Jul 90

[Text] Prague July 19 (CTK)—Czechoslovak Minister of labour and Social Affairs Petr Miller explained the government proposal for presenting of texts of agreements adopted at sessions of the International Labour Organization (ILO) in 1987-88 to the Czechoslovak Federal Assembly, at a parliament's session here today.

The minister told the deputies that the 77th session of the International Labour Conference, the highest ILO body, which ended in last June, was historical for Czechoslovakia as after over 20 years, the Czechoslovak delegation could announce to the conference that all legislative steps have been taken that removed long-term discrepancies of the Czechoslovak legal order and the practice with the basic ILO conventions from the sphere of human rights, i.e. conventions on discrimination at work and on the freedom of trade union association and hard labour.

The violation of these conventions in practice meant in Czechoslovakia mass discrimination at work for political reasons after the August 1968 occupation of Czechoslovakia by the armies of the five Warsaw Treaty countries, in connection with signing the Charter '77, the movement of fighters for human rights in Czechoslovakia, which continued more or less till November last year.

For forty years, there was an enforced trade union monopoly of one trade union in Czechoslovakia. For a long time, the ILO criticized the provision of the legal code on social parasitism.

Petr Miller stressed that the conventions are in harmony with Czechoslovak legislation and in the future, there should be no problems with their implementation.

Investment, Trade Accords Approved

LD1907201290 Prague CTK in English 1843 GMT 19 Jul 90

[Text] Prague July 19 (CTK)—The Czechoslovak Government today approved agreements between Czechoslovakia and Switzerland and agreements between Czechoslovakia and the Federal Republic of Germany on support and mutual protection of investments.

Similar agreements have already been signed with Belgium, Great Britain, and Austria. The Federal Government thus becomes a guarantee for foreign investors that a possible change of the inner legal regulations will not endanger their capital investments.

The decision of the Government at the same time cancels the provision that so far limited the transfers of

profits and trade payments to 20 per cent of invested foreign capital. This limitation loses is justification with the introduction of the inner convertibility of the Crown planned for the beginning of next year.

The Government approved a draft agreement between the Governments of Czechoslovakia and the United States on trade in certain steel products which follows up the similar adjustment that expired last September.

The government recommended to the Federal Assembly to express its consent with the agreement on trade relations with the United States that was agreed on in Washington last April. This agreement will undoubtedly become a milestone in the development of economic relations between Czechoslovakia and the United States. The United States grants Czechoslovakia the most-favoured-nation clause which was taken away from it in 1951.

The Czechoslovak side pledges to carry out necessary modifications of its legal regulations with the aim to create scope for mutually advantageous economic cooperation and grant guarantees for it.

Mexico is ithe first land Latin American country to sign an aviation agreement with Czechoslovakia which provides for opening a direct air line.

The Government expressed consent with amending the inter- governmental agreement on air transport between Czechoslovakia and Austria signed in March 1962. The amendment concerns security of civilian aviation.

New Federal Ministries Established

LD1907220990 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1630 GMT 19 Jul 90

[Excerpts] The fifth joint session of the Chamber of People and Chamber of Nations of the Federal Assembly continued in Prague today. The deputies approved new laws, as Roman Zamboch reports:

[Begin Zamboch recording] These laws are primarily laws changing the structure of the federal government in accordance with the current needs of our economy and the market economy, which it is beginning to make an appearance. The changes were envisaged already when this government was appointed, and its new form was outlined both by Vaclav Havel and by Marian Calfa in their speeches at the parliament during the last session.

So, these are not revolutionary changes, and I will only repeat that the Federal Assembly abolished today the State Planning Commission, the State Commission for Scientific-Technical and Investment Development, the Federal Ministry of Fuels and Power, the Federal Ministry of Metallurgy, Engineering and Electronic Industry, the Federal Ministry of Agriculture and Food, the People's Control Committee, and the Federal Price Office.

On the other hand, the parliament set up today the Federal Ministry for National Economic Strategy [Federalni Ministerstvo pro Narodohospodarskou Strategii], the Federal Ministry for the Economy [Federalni Ministerstvo Hospodarstvi], the Federal Control Ministry [Federalni Ministerstvo Kontroly], the Federal Office for Economic Competition [Federalni Urad pro Hospodarskou Soutez], and the Federal Committee for the Environment [Federalni Vybor pro Zivotni Prostredi].

Thus, together with the eight already existing federal ministries the government has been set up that should be active in this form—the most efficient one in the present conditions—until a new constitution is adopted. [passage omitted] The Federal Assembly deliberations will continue tomorrow. [end recording]

Foreign Trade, Investment, Domestic Measures

LD1907223190 Prague Television Service in Czech 1730 GMT 19 Jul 90

[Text] The first point on the agenda of today's federal government session, which began in the afternoon in Prague, was of an unusual nature. At issue was a free discussion of the method and style of the government's work, which summed up the experience of the preceding Government of National Consensus and added new suggestions to it. The government approved the agreements between the CSFR and the Swiss Confederation, and the agreements between the CSFR and the FRG on the promotion and mutual protection of investments. The government also recommended the Federal Assembly to express its consent with the agreement on trade relations with the United States, which was concluded in Washington in April this year. This agreement will without doubt become a milestone in the development of economic relations between the CSFR and the United States. However, it must be approved by the United States Congress if it is to become valid.

The government also expressed its positive stance on the draft amendment of the law on citizens' association in order to remove certain misunderstandings from the approach toward setting up trade union organizations and the doubts about the harmony between the said law and the International Labor Organization covenant. Thus the law will stress the fact that the trade union organization is merely on the file of an appropriate state body.

[Prague Domestic Service in Czech at 1930 GMT on 19 July in a similar report adds the following: "The government approved the proposal to raise the compensation for increased costs of the food of the citizens suffering from the illnesses the treatment of which requires a costly diet. The allowances were already raised by Kcs 50 [korunas] per month. Further increases amount to Kcs 150-270 per month. The federal government also approved the principles according to which the valid legal regulations for material security of the workforce dismissed within the framework of organizational

changes will be supplemented by a severance payment, which can be as high as five months' wages."]

Recommendation on Salaries

LD1907223590 Prague CTK in English 2031 GMT 19 Jul 90

[Text] Prague July 19 (CTK)—The Czechoslovak Government today assumed a stand on the bill on the salaries of deputies that was submitted by a group of deputies of the Federal Assembly. It stated that the proposed height of the salaries leaves the line of the present framework of the Czechoslovak economic system and legal order, and recommended that the basic height of the salaries be approximatley double the month's income in Czechoslovakia.

Former Secret Police To Join National Police

LD1907144890 Prague CTK in English 1228 GMT 19 Jul 90

[Text] Prague July 19 (CTK)—The Czechoslovak and the Czech and Slovak ministers of the interior announced in a statement today that former Secret Police (StB) staff, who have been proved in recent screening to have a clean record, will join the Czechoslovak police force.

In a statement circulated by press spokesman lieutenant-colonel Otto Kraus the three ministers said that criminality strongly increased in Czechoslovakia in the first half of this year and this made it imperative to increase the so far low numbers of the police force, something demanded by the public especially in big cities.

The former Secret Police staff, who will join the public police force on the basis of the ministers' decision, are uncompromised people found by citizens' commissions to have a clean record, who can do service in the combat against growing crime. "We believe that our society as a whole will welcome this step", the ministers said.

Budaj Said To Have Been StB Agent

AU1907132290

[Editorial Report] Prague MLADA FRONTA in Czech on 13 July on pages 1 and 2 carries a 900-word interview with Viliam Ciklamini (deputy federal minister of interior between January and April 1990, when he was dismissed by the then Interior Minister Sacher on charges of "creating a second power center") by Karel Hvizdala entitled "My Dismissal Was Unlawful." The interview was held in Prague on 12 July.

In the interview, Ciklamini demands his "complete rehabilitation" because his dismissal from the Ministry of Interior was "unfounded." In one of his replies he also rejects the claim of Jan Budaj, member of the Coordinating Center of the Public Against Violence movement, that he, Budaj, had signed a statement on cooperation with the State Security Corps (StB) only to obtain a passport and that he never really collaborated with the StB. Ciklamini asserts that he saw the Budaj dossier himself: "The dossier includes a handwritten note stating that Budaj will provide information on antisocialist activity in his surroundings—both in writing and orally. A list of his reports on individual persons is also enclosed. I remember that the reports concerned Kusy, Petrivy, and someone else."

An interview with Viliam Ciklamini is also published by Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak on 17 July, on pages 1 and 3. In the undated 1,200-word interview, which was held in Ciklamini's apartment in Bratislava, Ciklamini reiterates his accusations against Jan Budaj. He also explains his differences with former Minister of Interior Richard Sacher which, as he believes, led to his dismissal on 18 April. He says that, in his opinion, Richard Sacher had been installed in the post of federal minister of interior "in order to save people of the former regime." He adds: "Look, for 20 years he has been a leading functionary of the Czechoslovak People's Party, which loyally served the totalitarian regime. Such a man can scarcely be expected to eliminate people who know much about him."

Ciklamini also mentions a recent attempt to break into his apartment. Because nothing was stolen, Ciklamini suspects that the burglars were looking for "compromising documents about some people, including the copy of a letter which I sent to Jan Langos, the new federal minister of interior, last week." This letter reportedly included "information about people working at the ministry, information which might be of interest to the new minister." Ciklamini stresses that the burglars "did not find anything because I have hidden the material well."

Secret Report on Nuclear Commission Detailed

AU2007124190 Vienna Domestic Service in German 0500 GMT 20 Jul 90

[Fritz Pesata report]

[Text] Before the sensational interview given by the CSFR nuclear commission to the Slovak weekly NOVE SLOVO as well as an interview in the Inlandsreport news magazine of Vienna Television in April this year, the only thing—only between quotation marks—one knew about Bohunice was that in 1977 there was a severe reactor accident, in which—officially—two people died.

The report for the year 1989 of the Nuclear Commission of our northern neighbor has now revealed that incidents, particularly in the two blocks of the plant that belong to the first generation and were constructed as early as in 1970, are nothing out of the ordinary so to speak. In 1989 at total of 364 incidents were dealt with in the course of inspections at the Bohunice plant, one percent of which were regarded as significant by the state nuclear commission. The report on the two older blocks of the plant, Bohunice 1 and Bohunice 2, literally states that their security does not comply with current standards, and that these two blocks were described as the

weakest links in the CSFR nuclear energy chain in the 1986 government report, which was of course never made available to the public. Last year, these blocks called V 1, showed a total of 77 and 85 incidents respectively. On two occasions the plants had to be shut down immediately. The report of the commission includes the following:

On 5 June 1989, two minutes after midnight, the main feed-water pump number 11 was turned off through an electric interference, and at the same time, the electric fire signals went off at the plant's fire brigade station. The staff in the machine hall noticed smoke in the room of the draft tube of pump number 11. After it was established that the fire broke out in the cable chamber, the block was switched off by hand on the instructions of the shift engineer at 0016.

In other words, it was possible to discover the fire only 15 minutes after the first alarm and to switch off the block by hand. The second case is also documented in the report of the nuclear commission:

On the morning of 5 March 1989, the pipe of the block was reduced in order to carry out the planned tests of the turbo generators number 41 and 42. In the course of this the feed-water control unit for steam generator number 43 broke down. The staff switched on the automatic emergency control for the regulation of the water level. Subsequently the faulty driving mechanism of the control unit was exchanged. After turbo generator number 41 was uncoupled the new driving mechanism was tested. It was found out that the driving mechanism worked the wrong way round. During this the water level in steam generator number 43 increased. Closing the emergency valve did not prevent the increase of the water level to 200 mm, which led to the switch-off of turbine number 42 and subsequently to the emergency shut-down of the reactor.

These are two examples of so-called incidents. In the past year there were also several cases of damaged cable junctions. The CSFR nuclear commission particularly criticizes the insufficient precautionary measures for the case of an earthquake. After all, the Bohunice nuclear power plant is very close to a zone that has been know as a seismic area for centuries. Yet the (Sias) system, which was installed on the first block only in 1988, only fulfills its function—quote—in an unreliable way; it is inadequate for joining with the emergency shut-down system, and it does not fulfill the requirements of other emergency shut-down systems.

GERMAN UNIFICATION

Notice to Readers: *Beginning 30 July, reportage concerning German unification will not be published under the GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC section of the East Europe DAILY REPORT. In order to provide information on the topic in one location for the benefit of our readers, material from the GDR and FRG, as well as other media will be found in the German Unification Attachment to the West Europe DAILY REPORT.*

Meckel Calls for Two Armies in United Germany

AU2007080590 Vienna Television Service in German 2000 GMT 19 Jul 90

[Report on interview with Foreign Minister Markus Meckel by unidentified reporter; place and date not given]

[Text] A statement by Foreign Minister Markus Meckel demonstrates how shaky the GDR Government is. A few days after the spectacular agreement between Helmut Kohl and Mikhail Gorbachev, he made a statement that has caused a general shaking of heads, not only in Bonn, but also in East Berlin. He thinks that a united Germany should have two Armies for the time being because, in his opinion, the Bundeswehr in the West and the National People's Army [NVA] in the East cannot be united in one blow.

[Begin recording] [Meckel] The two are not commensurable—that is, they do not fit. If people say there should be one Army without a transition period with separate structures, an NVA captain would be equal in rank with a Bundeswehr captain. This would meet with violent resistance in the Bundeswehr because, apart from ideological questions, the conditions for becoming a captain are completely different there.

The other possible way to create a uniform Army is the dismissal of the NVA. Then there would be one Bundeswehr, which, according to the Moscow proposals, would not need to be further disarmed. This would be the most practical solution. This would mean, however, the dismissal of 80,000 to 90,000 soldiers. This is not possible.

[Reporter] Are you afraid of it?

[Meckel] This is not possible. This would also be unjust.

[Reporter] But, if I may put it like this, will two Army bodies not be a inherent contradiction in a united Germany?

[Meckel] I think that this is not an inherent contradiction because I ask you: What other solution is there? I explained this at the beginning. So far, apart from saying that those in the East will go home, nobody who advocates the first variant has been able to give me an answer. We do not accept this. Therefore, further arguments will be necessary. For us, equal rights are important. We must not say that a soldier who serves in an Army here is from the outset a worse soldier than one in the Bundeswehr.

[Reporter] Judging from your statements, you were not satisfied with the results of the Kohl-Gorbachev summit meeting. Why not?

[Meckel] Of course, there are further expectations. I think this was a very decisive and essential step on the road to clarifying the external aspects of Germany's unification—a great step that was not expected before, and thus it was a great success. I never denied this and I think this must be clearly stated.

However, questions which the Germans have to negotiate between themselves remain open. We have just discussed one of these questions. Another point continues to be Berlin. We advocated that the Allies leave Berlin, not after three or four years, but that the German capital, like any other capital in this world, be free of foreign troops. [end recording]

Urges More 'Far-Reaching' NATO Changes

LD2007091190 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0639 GMT 20 Jul 90

[Text] Frankfurt/Main (ADN)—Speaking to FRANKFURT RUNDSCHAU, Foreign Minister Markus Meckel renewed his demand for changes in NATO that are more far-reaching than those announced at the London summit. Neither adherence to the strategy of flexible response nor of nuclear first-use would correspond with the new situation in Europe. The GDR politician stressed that despite opposition from the public, the FRG Government had repeatedly agreed to nuclear weapons due to its strong integration in NATO. The GDR would not bring a large number of nuclear weapons supporters into a united Germany. "The resistance of nuclear weapons opponents will increase. The federal government would be well-advised to introduce its renunciation of their stationing in its program for the future, something it would be quite sensible to adhere to in the second State Treaty," Markus Meckel said.

Referring to the nuclear potential of Great Britain and France, the politician expressed the hope that the two countries "will soon no longer require nuclear weapons for their national identity." He reiterated the security guarantees for Poland, which are to be sealed in a border treaty shortly after unification. Markus Meckel, in response to a relevant question, stressed that it is in one's own interests "to also take into account Soviet interests." He expects a further reduction in upper limits for German Armed Forces at the Vienna negotiations. Meckel called for "appropriate proportionality" in reductions. This could not, however, mean that the Bundeswehr should remain, and the NVA [National People's Army] dropped to zero. The NVA, Meckel said,

should be reduced to 50-60,000 men. These issues must be discussed and settled within the framework of the second State Treaty.

De Maiziere Holds to 2 Dec Election Plans

LD1907143790 Hamburg DPA in German
1402 GMT 19 Jul 90

[Text] Bonn (DPA)—Despite intense criticism by GDR Liberals and the GDR SPD [Social Democratic Party], Prime Minister Lothar de Maiziere is sticking to his proposal for separate elections to the all-German legislature on 2 December. Even before the decisive special session of the coalition committee of the GDR Government on Thursday [19 July], in which a compromise on the differing views on the arrangements for elections and the date of accession will be sought, the CDU [Chrisitan Democratic Union] leader insisted on a unification of both German states only after the election. "I stick to my argument that the accession can only take place with the constituting of the newly elected sovereign body," said De Maiziere in an interview in the Friday edition of the daily DIE WELT.

The GDR Government leader gave as the reason for his proposal the fact that if the GDR accedes to the FRG before the election—as demanded by the SPD and the Liberals—the situation would arise in which "16 million Germans would be led by a government which not one of them had legitimated through elections." In De Maiziere's view, one argument for separate elections on different voting models is the fact that it is an unprecedented process in which two parts of a people, two nations, are coming together "and they can and must do this according to their own rules."

Rejects Resignation Threats Rumors

LD1907172990 Hamburg DPA in German
1645 GMT 19 Jul 90

[Text] Berlin (DPA)—Prime Minister Lothar de Maiziere has rejected allegations that he threatened to resign if the Christian Democratic Union People's Chamber group did not support him on the question of accession. In an interview with DPA this evening, he described rumors of resignation threats as "rubbish." He assumed that he belonged to a party which would pass the five-percent hurdle, both in one or in two electoral areas. He feels no great need to help one or another party into parliament.

There are no compelling reasons for declaring accession at this stage. If the accession were declared now, then the legal system bound up with the Basic Law would also apply to the GDR. "Then we might just as well save ourselves the effort of negotiating a unification treaty." At the very least the GDR would then have to rely on the other side "stating obligingly on one point or another, 'so be it'." Anyone favoring Article 23 should know "that it does not yet, for example, contain the government statement on the property decree in the form of a contractual text."

A peaceful revolution was also fought in the GDR for reasons of self-determination. According to the Basic Law, there is only one government in a single state. The federal government must then, "in a caretaker capacity, determine the fate of this country without being legitimated by a single vote from the country."

Reviews 'First 100 Days'

LD1907195190 Hamburg DPA in German
1850 GMT 19 Jun 90

[Excerpt] Berlin (DPA)—In the view of Prime Minister Lothar de Maiziere, the transition to the economic and monetary union in the GDR has "taken place with fewer problems that might have been feared" despite quite a number of difficulties. In a DPA interview the government chief said in an assessment of the first 100 days in office of the first freely elected government in the history of the GDR: "We have come a good deal closer to the task of establishing German unity."

He described it as a positive factor that an "emerging polarization and radicalization of social and public life" was averted at the beginning of the year. In all "public opinion was better than was published." With the accession to government and the activity of the freely elected People's Chamber, a "quite qualitatively new level in political interaction" was achieved. De Maiziere added that the GDR Government has succeeded in "making itself master of the situation."

The situation in the GDR and the transition to the market economy is an "absolutely unique event. There is no textbook or model to provide a guideline." The government must think in terms of concepts but also retain the ability "to be very quick to react and correct matters" when it is found that what has been decided is not effective in the manner desired.

The GDR has "made a good deal of progress" in shaping a new democratic order. The prime minister said with regard to the landtag [state] elections in the GDR on 14 October and the question of the land capitals, which has still not been completely settled: "It would be better for them to argue about that in their respective laender. I like Rostock just as much as Schwerin, and Halle as much as Magdeburg." De Maiziere said he is satisfied that on the question of the external aspects of German unification, it can be assumed "that the two-plus-four process will be completed on time and according to plan."

De Maiziere assessed the talks between Soviet head of state Mikhail Gorbachev and FRG Chancellor Helmut Kohl as having been "a decisive breakthrough." The GDR has been able to bring its interests very clearly into the foreground, for example its important experience in dealing with the Soviet Union. De Maiziere described

the revolution in East Europe as the "victory of democracy and the spirit over non-democracy and non-spirit." It is not a victory of one people over the others, "who after all had not chosen the system."

Asked about the unification process, the Christian Democratic Union [CDU] politician said that he views himself as an "organizer" of German unification. On the current state of the discussion about the elections and accession, he reaffirmed that there are no compelling reasons for declaring accession to the federal republic at this stage. [passage omitted]

Bergmann-Pohl Notes 'Understanding' Soviet Stance

LD1907160490 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1336 GMT 19 July 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The deputies on the "German Unity" People's Chamber committee have noted with satisfaction the results of Chancellor Helmut Kohl's meeting with USSR President Mikhail Gorbachev. A statement by People's Chamber President Dr. Sabine Bergmann-Pohl, issued to the press today, notes that as a result the full sovereignty of a united Germany would also include a withdrawal, to be agreed bilaterally, of Soviet troops from the GDR within three to four years.

"The understanding stance of the Soviet side deserves our thanks," the statement continues. At the same time one should recall the prudent behavior of Soviet soldiers and officers in the GDR in the autumn of 1989. As a result, the peaceful revolution of the citizens of the GDR had been brought to success, and the unification of the two German states introduced. "All this should occasion us to exhibit trusting behavior toward the Soviet citizens living in our country," the statement notes in conclusion.

Liberals, CDU/DA Discuss Unification Approach

LD2007101190 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0631 GMT 20 Jul 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Before the 26th People's Chamber session began in Berlin today, the parliamentary groups of the Liberals and Christian Democratic Union/Democratic Awakening discussed their future approach to German unity and the motion put forward by the Liberals to accede to the FRG Basic Law under Article 23, with effect from 1 December 1990. Johannes Kney, the foreign policy spokesman of the Liberals parliamentary group, told ADN that he hopes the Social Democratic Party, a section of the Alliance 90/Greens and also "a substantial number of CDU deputies will support us in solidarity." This is not the case with the German Social Union. "Nevertheless, I am hopeful," he said.

Bertram Wieczorek, deputy parliamentary group chairman of the CDU/DA, said with regard to the motion: "The CDU/DA parliamentary group stance is clear. At stake here is not the substance of the motion but a purely tactical election maneuver. We will react to it accordingly."

Hungarian Envoy Denies GDR Mission Closure

LD1907173890 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1427 GMT 19 Jul 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Hungary's Ambassador in Bonn, Dr. Istvan Horvath, was received in Berlin today by People's Chamber President Dr. Sabine Bergmann-Pohl, the acting head of state of the GDR, for the presentation of his letter of accreditation. He strongly denied rumors of a closure of the Hungarian mission in the GDR.

"In the future I will be spending half of my time as ambassador in Bonn and half in East Berlin," the head of the two missions told ADN. The diplomatic mission near the Brandenburg Gate on the East Berlin side will not be wound down. With the simultaneous accreditation on the Rhine and on the Spree, Hungary wants to give a political sign that it is expecting early reunification.

Ambassador Dr. Horvath stressed his country's not insignificant contribution to the state of the great processes of change in Europe, which have led, among other things, to the unification of the two German states. From a Hungarian viewpoint, a united Germany is an important political and economic factor for Europe. "For us Hungarians it is not a present a danger for Europe. We see it rather as a stabilizing factor in the security of the continent. In our view, a united Germany can play a good mediating role between East and West." Ambassador Dr. Horvath stressed that Hungary was one of the first countries to unconditionally welcome unification.

Economics Ministry Encourages Reprivatization

LD1907185190 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1552 GMT 19 Jul 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The Economics Ministry has confirmed advances in reprivatization in all GDR areas [bezirke]. According to an announcement issued today, a total of 8,993 reprivatization applications had been submitted by 10 June. The number of reprivatized enterprises has risen to 1,102. Some 2,610 applications were submitted in Chemnitz, 1,400 in Leipzig, 78 in Schwerin, and 31 in Neubrandenburg. The front-runners among the areas in terms of reprivatized enterprises are Suhl with 144 and Dresden with 135. The ministry stated that this positive trend must be strongly promoted.

Official on Soviet Troop Withdrawal

AU2007092590 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 17 Jul 90 p 7

[Interview with Deputy State Secretary Zoltan Illes by Peter Vajda; place and date not given: "The Soviet General Became Very Sad—Zoltan Illes Expects More Openness From the Withdrawing Troops"]

[Excerpts] [Vajda] Mr. Illes, I would like to begin with a topical issue: The U.S. firm Martech is starting work on cleaning the areas evacuated by the Soviet troops. What kind of activity is this and how much will it cost?

[Illes] In addition to the Veszprem area, there are 18 other former military bases evacuated by the Soviet troops, and their examination will begin gradually. Hungarian experts will also participate in this activity, and the U.S. firm has strong contacts with the Bakony Metal firm in Varpalota. The U.S. experts organized four-day courses for the participants and their activity has also created jobs. The experts will examine the former Soviet bases and shooting ranges together with Defense Ministry and Environmental Protection Ministry experts....

[Vajda] How long will the cleansing of the Veszprem area last and how much will this activity cost?

[Illes] The U.S. firm is making use of its contacts in Congress. I have recently been informed by their representatives in Budapest that the Senate will also support this activity from the military budget. This is an advantage because money that we originally wanted to use for this activity will also meet other needs. As for the schedule of this activity, first we will take soil samples. Cleaning the Veszprem area will probably last one year and this is a serious task, but this area is not the most polluted one. As for the costs, cleaning the areas to be handed over this year will cost approximately $30-40 million, or about 2.5 billion forints. [passage omitted]

[Vajda] The Soviets are calling for a settlement of the accounts for each evacuated base, a request that, if I understand it correctly, is impossible given the environmental and cleaning technology considerations....

[Illes] Yes, this request has been submitted, but will not work. The Soviet troops used 22,000 hectares of land in Hungary. Determining the environmental pollution of such a big area does not happen overnight. Initial examination alone will take several months. Therefore, we asked the Soviet military leadership to make their people understand that they should not try to hide the problems.

[Vajda] What does this mean? Do they try to hide the problems?

[Illes] We have an agreement according to which the evacuated areas must be clean. What if they hand over these areas in a "clean" state in which polluting materials are dumped in concrete-covered ditches and we must uncover them in order to neutralize the poisonous materials? We will also present the bill for this activity. [passage omitted]

USSR Reducing Oil Quotas by One-Third

LD1907192190 Budapest MTI in English 1807 GMT 19 Jul 90

[Text] Budapest, July 19 (MTI)—Since the recent announcement by the Soviet Union to reduce oil deliveries to Hungary, the capacity of the Friendship II was cut by one-third.

This also entailed the reduction in deliveries to Yugoslavia being supplied via Hungary.

Istvan Vari, work superintendent at the Fenyselitke pumping station of the Hungarian Gas and Oil Supplying Company, situtated close to the Soviet border, reported to MTI that since July 12, the quantity of petrol pumped through the Friendship II pipeline is between 15-19,000 tonnes daily.

This means that the Soviet side is observing the modified delivery schedule it set for itself, and on occasion this quantity was even surpassed. Thus by the end of July, the earmarked quantity of 486 thousand tonnes is most likely to be delivered.

Under the earlier agreement, the total quantity to have been delivered by the Soviet Union to Hungary was 676,000 tonnes.

NBH Ruble Accounting Deficit Widening

LD1907144390 Budapest MTI in English 1222 GMT 19 Jul 90

[Text] Budapest, July 19, 1990 (MTI-ECONEWS)—According to National Bank of Hungary figures, Hungary's rouble current account showed a Hungarian deficit of 399 million roubles in January-May, 1990, as compared to a Hungarian surplus of 587 million roubles in the same period of last year.

Total Hungarian exports to the Comecon countries amounted to 1.862 billion roubles in the first five months of 1990, 32.1 per cent less than in the same period of last year.

Hungarian imports from the Comecon countries were 21.2 per cent down on last year in the first five months, and amounted to 2.146 billion roubles.

By the end of 1989, net Hungarian rouble claims amounted to 1.6 billion roubles, and this had shrunk to 1.299 billion by the end of April. Figures for May are not available yet.

Goncz on Local, Foreign Issues

AU1807213390 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 12 Jul 90 pp 1, 6

[Interview with Arpad Goncz, acting Hungarian president, by Tibor Ferko in the Hungarian president's office; date not given: "The Roads to a National Identity"; first paragraph is NARODNA OBRODA introduction]

[Text] In the president's office, next to the desk, there is a large state emblem. Lajos Kosuth's picture is hanging on the wall. The NARODNA OBRODA correspondent was received in this environment by Arpad Goncz, acting Hungarian president, before his trip to the CSFR.

[Ferko] For the first time you are visiting our republic as the highest official of the Hungarian Republic. You have been to our country before and your good relations with the representatives of our country and our culture are well known. Also, the similarity between the destiny of the presidents of our republics as writers, citizens, and politicians is rare, and this is why everyone rightfully expects mutual understanding.

[Goncz] It is true I am going to Prague for a working visit with President Havel for the first time. We met under very special circumstances. We met at the grave of Imre Nagy. He was in prison, so was I; he is a playwrite, so am I. Given that our mental processes are similar, I can say that we understand one another without completing a sentence. This is also due to mutual trust, which makes understanding easy.

[Ferko] We used to enjoy visiting each other in the past; now we very rarely meet tourists from Czechoslovakia in the Hungarian capital. This is not just the result of a provision to protect our trade interests. We are also witnessing a great awakening of national sentiment in our countries, sometimes extremist in forms of nationalism or chauvinism. Now it looks as if this paradox is the result of liberalization. Can you outline some of the solutions, before you sit at the negotiating table?

[Goncz] As far as the cooling of relations is concerned—supposedly resulting in a smaller number of tourists—I do not think that the reason is political. Hungary is currently an expensive country. Not only Czechoslovak tourists, but also the number of German tourists has dropped. It is well known that Hungary was a meeting place for citizens from the two German states. Slovaks "rushed in" to shop. At present it does not pay to shop in our country. Stricter customs regulations also complicate visits by Hungarian tourists to your country. I believe these are purely practical reasons which will disappear as soon as the present provisions lose their raison d'etre.

[Ferko] You recently said in your interview with the U.S. journal NEWSWEEK that the nationalities living in Hungary are entitled to the same rights the Hungarian minority enjoys elsewhere. The national awareness of the Slovaks living in Hungary is significantly suppressed. During the decades, the old regime succeeded in deciding the destiny of the Slovak minority by implementing strict administrative measures. In Hungary, there is no single kindergarten, primary school, or a high school using Slovak as the language of education—only some subjects are taught in Slovak. However, this is insufficient in order to retain knowledge of the language, not to speak about other aspects and consequences of this absence. Without schools and the possibility of cultivating one's language, we cannot speak about the development or the future of the nation. What solutions to these delicate problems will you propose to our partners?

[Goncz] You say that in both our countries we came across elements of nationalism. I can understand this. For more than 40 years, ethnic feelings have been denied. I am not surprised that suppressed national feelings are surfacing in both countries. I am aware of its public manifestations, here and there. I openly admit that I feel very sorry when such manifestations find publicity in the press. We are interested in avoiding similiar extremes as evident by the election results and the declarations made by our governments. There is no doubt that the Slovak minority in Hungary has serious troubles. The assimilation of the Slovaks who live here was more profound and therefore the return to their national identity will be more difficult. I, personally, have a feeling that regardless of what happened 42 years ago and the agreements made on the population exchange, the Slovaks here realized that by staying or relocating they would give up their national identity. It is also obvious that the situation in education here is not favorable for Slovaks. You assert that the oppression of Slovaks in Hungary was caused by some administrative measures, but I am convinced that this was not the case. I think that the need to retain a Slovak national identity has been neglected. Simply put, people did not realize the need to maintain an ethnic identity. The previous Communist government was insensitive toward the problems of the nationalities—it behaved equally toward the needs of all minorities. I could give one example of how the Slovak kindergarten ceased to exist—simply because no one recognized the need for one. During the past two years, we have become aware of this problem and we have a lot to repair. As for what I said in NEWSWEEK, I only want to add that Slovaks need more than what is contained in your quotation, because their situation is more endangered.

Our intentions are sincere, and I have no doubts that we will find a solution to the Slovak minority problem and return their national identity to them. In any case, this will require help from Slovakia. Kindergarten teachers are not being trained in Hungary, and it is up to you to help us. Of course, this should happen on the basis of a bilateral agreement. We also need Slovak children's books. Let us try to revive such initiatives. We believe that Slovak culture here complements Hungarian culture. Now, we will wait for a generation of teachers to be trained as soon as possible—teachers who will take their profession seriously. If we cannot rely on the Slovaks'

help, then solving this will take longer. But, there is a question about whether or not this might be too late. We have always said that we cannot solve these problems through reciprocity. That is, the Slovak minority problems are quite independent of the Hungarian minority problems in Slovakia. We would have to solve this problem even if Hungarians did not live in Slovakia and we have to do it now, while they live under certain conditions here. We are willing to offer the same help to the Hungarian minority living in your country, for example, we will also ensure the education of the teachers. I am deeply convinced that everyone has the right to learn their mother tongue as well as possible. My experience tells me that everyone belongs to the nationality whose language he has mastered best.

[Ferko] Some absurd ideas have appeared in the press, suggesting that the minority rights be regulated according to when and how they came here. Some historians are not even satisfied with the fact that Slovaks moved to Hungarian territory 350 years ago, following the devastation of the country by the Turks. Can you tell us your standpoint regarding this discussion?

[Goncz] No, we cannot accept this and we cannot make nationality dependent upon who, when, and how a person came to this or that country. Some 350 years are enough for someone to feel at home in a place without having a tourist passport. After the devastation of the country by the Turks, Slovaks helped regenerate the countryside and they have a right to their nationality and language. I don't think I could put it more clearly.

[Ferko] Will you mention these problems at the highest level?

[Goncz] Of course. We would very much like—and we have been exchanging our views on the subject for a long period of time—to issue a joint statement on ethnic problems. One of the primary goals of Hungarian foreign policy is enforcement of collective and personal human rights for Hungarians living in the Carpathian Basin. I am convinced that when Hungarians, as well as Slovaks, gain these rights, it will represent a guarantee against any chauvinistic attempts proclaiming irredentism. As soon as Slovaks here and Hungarians in your country feel safe, then what purpose would considerations about border changes serve? I am convinced that by solving ethnic problems, tension will subside and the danger, which has threatened mutual relations between both countries since 1918—will be eliminated.

[Ferko] The public prefers to hope despite disappointments. How much hope can the Hungarians, Czechs, and Slovaks expect from the two men who have paid dearly for today's democracy?

[Goncz] That in itself promises mutual understanding. We have in common not only our personal sufferings, but also the sufferings of our nations. I admit that, apart from my own country, nowhere else do I have such a sense of being at home as in Bohemia and Slovakia. I got used to saying that in Slovakia, I can understand everything except the language. Understand that my attitude toward Czechoslovakia, and this visit, is a matter of the heart.

Government on World Expo, Indemnification Bureau

LD1907212290 Budapest MTI in English 2035 GMT 19 Jul 90

[Text] Budapest, July 19 (MI)—Prior to his regular Friday briefing, Balazs Laszlo, government spokesman, assessed to MTI during a break, results achieved at Thursday's government session.

The ministers' meeting, chaired by Prime Minister Antall, referred the proposal on subsidising Western exports of agricultural products back to the economic cabinet. This turned out to be the fate of also the motion on the amendment of the 1988 resolution regulating foreign goods turnover. The government approved various measures designed to balance the envisaged increase of diesel oil in July.

Plans drawn up so far on the Vienna-Budapest world expo are a source of much political and professional emotion. Decisions on the fate of the event have already been reached, but this was the first occasion since the founding of the new government that it was on its agenda of discussions.

A financial consortium is to be set up by the beginning of September for financing the event, thus the government will be able to meet a final decision by the end of the year on staging the event.

MTI has already reported on the setting up of an indemnification bureau. A decision was reached at Thursday's government session on this matter as well. Accordingly, citizens who were interned on political grounds between 1945 and 1963, can turn to the bureau—to be operational from the beginning of September—for moral and material rehabilitation, as far as the country's present economic situation permits. The work of the new government institution will be assisted by the social committee to be set up with the involvement of the interest protection organisations of those concerned. The bureau is to be headed by Gyula Kiss, minister without portfolio.

The government also discussed the possible utilisation of some of the former HSWP's real estates.

Antall Explains Foreign Policy to Envoys

LD1907203890 Budapest MTI in English 2012 GMT 19 Jul 90

[Text] Budapest, July 19 (MTI)—Prime Minister Jozsef Antall received in the parliament building on Thursday, Arab ambassadors accredited to Hungary.

Mr Antall outlined the new Hungarian Government's foreign policy, stressing that relations with Arab countries are in line with the significant role of the countries in the region, they are balanced, simmetric, and Hungary is endeavouring to achieve equally advantageous rela-

tions. It intends to make these relations lasting, and not subject to various trends. Mr Antall informed the ambassadors that an inter-departmental committee is to be set up, headed by the political state secretary of the Foreign Ministry, for the purpose of coordinating and fostering political, economic, cultural ties, and for eliminating disruptive elements in relations, as raised at the talks. The said committee is to maintain steady links also with the Council of Arab Ambassadors.

Hungary has an interest in the early achievement of peace in the Middle East, Mr Antall said, and hopes that improving relations between the superpowers will have a beneficial effect on solving the Middle East problems as well.

The Hungarian Government denounces all acts of terrorism, Mr Antall stressed. The sides expounded their position on issues relating to the emigration of Soviet Jews.

Speaking about the profiteering activity of some Arab citizens staying in Hungary, which irritates the general public, the ambassadors said that this is a particular Hungarian problem, and it is up to the Hungarian authorities to solve these. Mr Antall said Hungary wishes to adjust to the European standards the practice of issuing visas and the material coverage required by immigration authorities.

Mr Antall welcomed the increasing interest shown towards Hungary by prospective Arab investors, and requested the heads of missions present for their continued good services in this regard.

In conclusion, the prime minister expressed both his own and his government's readiness in holding regular interstate exchanges.

Main Demands With FRG Reportedly Dropped

AU1907180790 Paris AFP in English 1624 GMT 17 Jul 90

[Text] Paris, July 17 (AFP)—Poland Tuesday dropped its main demands at the "two-plus-four" talks here in return for promises of economic aid from West Germany, an East German official said here.

The Poles "have yielded on every point," East German spokesman Ulbrich Albrecht told reporters at the negotiations on German unity attended by foreign ministers of the two Germanys and the four wartime Allied powers—United States, Soviet Union, France and Britain.

Polish Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski was exceptionally invited Tuesday for the discussions held to confirm Poland's western border with Germany.

West German Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher said that on Wednesday he would invite a high-level Polish delegation to Bonn for talks before the end of this month or in August "at the latest", according to Mr. Albrecht.

West Germany would "give generous economic aid for the development of Poland," Mr. Albrecht said.

In return, Mr. Skubiszewski agreed to drop a demand that Germany abrogates constitutional articles under which part of Poland could theoretically become part of Germany.

The Polish minister "also renounced seeking formal guarantees beyond a border treaty.

"That is how a compromise was possible," Mr. Albrecht said.

Government Denies Dropping Demands

LD1907162490 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1545 GMT 19 Jul 90

[Text] The participation of Poland in the two-plus-four conference, in the part directly involving our country, has a fundamental meaning for us, both because of the essence of the matters debated there and because of the principle at stake, which boils down to ensuring that decisions vital for us Poles are not made over our heads, government press spokesperson Malgorzata Niezabitowksa said at a news conference today. We are treating this participation in the two-plus-four conference—which we gained with great difficulty—as an understanding of the Polish vision of the European order. The Polish Government is satisfied with the results of the Paris talks. Malgorzata Niezabitowska also denied the reports published by AFP, as well as certain papers quoting AFP, that the Polish side has given up some of its demands in return for the promise of FRG economic aid.

Skubizewski Corrects Newspaper on Border Issue

LD1907170790 Warsaw PAP in English 1523 GMT 19 Jul 90

[Text] Warsaw, July 19—In connection with the information spread by some foreign mass media, LE FIGARO daily including, to the effect that Poland allegedly resigned from demanding guarantees for her borders in return for the promise of West German financial assistance, Poland's Minister of Foreign Affairs Krzysztof Skubiszewski took the following stand in a letter to political director of LE FIGARO Robert Hersant:

"This information is untrue.

"Since the very beginning it has been Poland's postulate to confirm the legal and international character of the Polish-German border in its present shape in a treaty between Poland and a united Germany. During the ministerial talks in Paris on July 17 it was confirmed that such a treaty will be signed as soon as possible after the two Germanys unite and regain their sovereignty.

"During that meeting adopted were also such formulations to the 'final stipulation' of the two-plus-four talks which put an end to all ambiguities with regard to the legal status of the Polish-German border. Such ambiguities resulted from some countries' stand that final settlements on Germany's borders were to be made only in a future peace treaty or peace regulation.

"The settlements adopted on July 17 clearly dictate that the 'final stipulation' puts an end to such ambiguities. Poland has been given full assurance in this regard.

"Poland's economic cooperation with both German states, and with a united Germany in future, was not discussed during the talks on July 17. I did refer in my speech, among other things, to the problem of succession of the agreements binding presently on Poland and the German Democratic Republic, the economic agreements in the first place.

"Poland has strong economic links with the GDR that play a great role in our economy. Poland reckons with large losses in this regard. They take place at a difficult moment of implementing deep economic reforms.

"This stand met with understanding on the part of both German states. Minister Genscher invited a Polish delegation to undertake talks on this issue at the turn of July.

"No assistance was promised or given to us in Paris.

"Hence, by no means is there any connection between the recognition of the legal and international character of the border and the solution of economic problems in the Polish-German relations," Minister Skubiszewski wrote.

Discusses Polish-German Reconciliation

LD1907171190 Warsaw PAP in English 1535 GMT 19 Jul 90

[Text] Paris, July 19—Asked during the recording of the TV programme "Over Borders" here today whether the success of Polish diplomacy was not bought at the cost of a certain defeat, Polish Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski firmly rejected such a suggestion and underscored that Poland had never thought it to be indispensable to sign a peace treaty with Germany after so many years since the end of the war.

"Poland did not want to sign the treaty before unification as it did not think it necessary. However, Poland wants a treaty with a united Germany," the minister stated.

He regarded the Paris session of the two-plus-four conference as a serious achievement of all the sides. The Polish Government expects the conference to end in the adoption of a document constituting a "final settlement under international law" and only then will it consider its efforts to be fully successful, he added.

Skubiszewski said that Poland did not obtain any promises of economic aid on the part of Germany. "It is by Minister Genscher that I was given a promise that Polish-German economic talks will start in late summer but I was not given any assurance on aid. Poland would like to see another treaty shortly after the signing of a border treaty, that is one on good neighbourhood and friendly cooperation," he stated.

In his opinion Polish-German reconciliation has already taken place between societies but not yet between states.

Reviews Two-Plus-Four Talks

LD2007101890 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0453 GMT 20 Jul 90

[Statement by Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski upon return from two-plus-four talks in Paris at Okecie Airport; date not given—recorded]

[Text] There were two visits. There was first the conference of four powers and two German states, where I presented our stance regarding confirmation of our western border, as well as certain other issues connected to the question of giving us security as Germany's neighbor. Regarding unification, I spoke about the issue of treaty succession. This concerns the whole problem of which of our international agreements with the GDR can be saved, and which will fall victim to unification, causing various economic losses—I expanded this to a certain degree. I also spoke about the military and political situation of a unified Germany, and what was of interest to us here. I think the results of the talks were good, maybe even very good. We acquired assurances that the moment the two-plus-four final adjustment came into force—to which our bilateral treaty is connected, but what above all is significant here is this adjustment—then the reservation concerning the peace treaty or peace adjustment, which has haunted us since the time of the Potsdam Agreement, will fall away. We worked out an agreed text precisely for the two-plus-four adjustment. We had to find a formula which would suit everyone, and further, we also gained assurances outside of the two-plus-four adjustment itself in this matter, but with legal value and having force for the future. We have assurances that the Polish-German treaty will be signed and presented for ratification in the shortest possible time after unification. Also, it is only after unification that the two-plus-four final adjustment will be ratified.

Niezabitowska on Two-Plus-Four Talks, Auschwitz

LD1907182490 Warsaw PAP in English 1545 GMT 19 Jul 90

[Text] Warsaw, July 19—The number of victims of the Nazi death camp in Oswiecim (Auschwitz) probably is not four million people. According to research carried out by specialists from Western states and Israel at least 1.6 million people, 90 percent of them having been Jews, died at Auschwitz, Government Spokeswoman Malgorzata Niezabitowska said at today's press conference.

Poland demands that the camp's archives kept in the USSR after they had been brought there by Soviet troops during the war be returned. Following a motion of the recently established international council dealing with the future of the Auschwitz Museum, inscriptions will be changed on the monument to the victims there.

At the conference, also attended by Under Secretary of State at the Finance Ministry Wojciech Misiag, discussed were the following problems: results of the Paris round of the two-plus-four conference, Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski's talks with French statesmen, the participation of Polish experts in the exhumation of Polish officers' graves near Kharkov, liberalization of tourist traffic between Poland and the USSR, the draft budget law and the attitude of the government towards the Citizens Movement-Democratic Action (ROAD).

Niezabitowska described the participation of the Polish foreign minister in the Paris two-plus-four conference and results of those talks which take into account the Polish reason of state in the process of German unification as the crowning of the activities of Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki's government and Polish diplomacy.

She recalled that Poland had recognised the German nation's right for self-determination as the first in Eastern Europe. The Polish government aimed to eliminate ambiguities in this process which concerned the permanent character of the Polish-German border and the succession of economic agreements with the GDR. The participation in this conference the results of which are satisfying for the Polish government is treated by us as a sign of the understanding of the Polish point of view of the European order.

Niezabitowska denied AFP reports on alleged promises and tenders with the FRG side, regarding German economic aid in return for Poland's renouncing some postulates. Poland has not renounced any postulates (negotiations on a border treaty still before unification, the signing of this treaty and of an inter-state treaty after unification). Niezabitowska voiced hope that the finally confirmed border on the Odra and the Nysa Rivers would not divide but unite the Polish and the German people, also in economic cooperation.

The schedule for Polish-German negotiations envisages invitation of a Polish delegation to tripartite talks (Poland, the GDR, the FRG) at the turn of July, to be devoted mainly to succession of the economic agreements between Poland and the GDR (The GDR is one of Poland's major trade partners that imports numerous goods from Poland), Niezabitowska said.

The next tripartite meeting is planned to take place in Warsaw in September and deal with working out contents of a border treaty and a treaty between Poland and a United Germany, the spokeswoman said.

Niezabitowska stated that this treaty is to be based on the Mazowiecki-Kohl joint statement of November, 1989. She also said that although the West German side did make assurances on the need to work out the contents of a border treaty in September, it acknowledged this Polish postulate presented in Paris.

Polish-French Rapprochement

France is the most important partner of Poland in Western Europe, Niezabitowska said characterizing minister Skubiszewski's talks with French statesmen. During the talks with the French minister of industry the sides agreed on far-reaching cooperation in telecommunications (modernization of the Polish telecommunications network), railways (construction of fast rolling-stock) and aviation (joint production of a small-range passenger plane).

The talks with [the] French minister of foreign trade produced a plan of activity of a bilateral operation team aiming at setting up branches of French banks in Poland and granting credit guarantees to this country.

Bilateral contacts at various levels of both foreign ministries, "Polish cultural expansion in France next year," intensification of teaching French in Poland, [and] closer military contacts were agreed upon with the French minister of foreign affairs.

While characterizing Skubiszewski's talks with President Mitterrand, Niezabitowska underlined that the French president expressed concern about the situation in Poland caused by what is termed at "acceleration".

Exhumation of Polish Graves Near Kharkov

The talks held by Poland's deputy prosecutor general in Kiev indicate that exhumation of murdered Polish officers whose wartime graves are situated near Kharkov will not take place in July as previously planned, but in September. Specialists in various fields, forensic medicine including, will take part in the exhumation on the Polish side, Niezabitowska said.

Details remain to be settled, she added. The Polish side is ready to carry out all work, including earthworks that might be done by Polish workers employed on nearby construction sites.

Niezabitowska announced that the Ukrainian authorities voiced readiness to do the so-called full exhumation, that is unbury and exhume all bodies.

On Travel Restrictions of Lvov Authorities

Referring to the restrictive travel regulations for foreign tourists, who are mostly Poles, introduced by the Ukrainian authorities, Niezabitowska said that a delegation of the Polish Foreign Ministry will soon go to Lvov to discuss lifting the restrictions.

Liberalization of Poland-USSR Tourist Traffic

In reply to PAP question Niezabitowska stated that she expected a far-reaching liberalization of regulations on tourist traffic between Poland and the USSR. The obligation to have the so-called invitations to visit the USSR will be probably abandoned. Thus, one may expect a considerable increase in traffic on border crossings, this meaning the necessity to open new ones and improve the existing infrastructure. Poland took this initiative quite a long time ago, she said.

Niezabitowska added that so far Czechoslovakia had not cancelled unilateral restrictions imposed on tourist traffic with Poland in 1980 (the obligation to have invitations).

Draft Budget Law

As Misiag informed newsmen, the government draft budget law adopted on July 16 will be sent to the Sejm (lower house) still this week. Under the draft, relations between material plans and the state budget will be reversed. Unlike in the past, the budget will play a leading role, and the economy's operation will be based on it.

The draft includes the concept of two separate budgets: central and voivodship one, on the one hand, and communal self-government ones, non-dependent on the state balancing of accounts, on the other.

Among new draft settlements Misiag listed strict planning of investments in the state budget, guarantees for home credits, permitting budget credits to be transferred to next year. He said that the budget should provide a clear picture of state revenues and expenditures.

Government on Democratic Action

There have been no internal instructions among cabinet members concerning joining the Citizens Movement-Democratic Action (ROAD) or signing its declaration. The government welcomes the clear programme and goals of the movement which supports the philosophy of the cabinet, the spokeswoman said.

On Programme of Center Agreement

Nearly each of the postulates included in the economic programme of the centre-agreement is right when approached separately, Misiag stated. But the programme does not answer how all this can be done together. Each of the centre's points entails budgetary spending, but the whole programme is lacking the element of balancing the means, he added.

New Soldiers Day

October 12 (the anniversary of the battle at Lenino where a Polish division formed on the Soviet territory fought a battle with Germans in 1943) ceases to be the day of the Polish Army observed for decades, Niezabitowska stated.

Asked by PAP whether August 15 (the anniversary of the so-called miracle on the Vistula, Poles victory in the Battle of Warsaw fought in the Polish-Soviet War in 1920) is going to be a new soldiers day, the spokeswoman said that the decision on the issue has not been taken yet, but the date will be chosen soon.

Other Issues

Newsmen also learnt that the government welcomes the declaration of sovereignty of another Soviet republic, the Ukraine.

Representatives of the U.N. high commissioners for refugees concluded filling in questionnaires of the African refugees. Most of them deserve to be granted the status. The office of the high commissioner assessed in positive terms Poland's approach to the issue.

An interministerial comission has been analyzing the number of employees and structure of employment in the central administration. A reform of the office of the Council of Ministers is being worked out.

In the situation of growing unemployment, the paradoxical lack of colliers has been noted in the mining industry.

Soviet Oil Delivery Accords To Be Honored

LD1907141190 Warsaw PAP in English1155 GMT 19 Jul 90

[By PAP correspondent Zdzislaw Raczynski]

[Text] Moscow, July 19—The decision of the Soviet Government to cut exports of crude oil by 7 million tons will not affect the overall volume of oil deliveries to East European countries provided for in intergovernment agreements, the Soviet side assures.

According to a representative of the Soviet enterprise exporting crude oil, the temporary disturbances in supplies largely caused by higher domestic demand during the harvest season will be made up for in the nearest future (perhaps even at the end of the third quarter).

Poland annually buys 12.75 million tonnes of crude oil from the Soviet Union, most of it [11.55 million] at advantageous prices not exceeding a hundred clearing rubles. The remaining 1.2 million tons are bought at global prices.

"There is always a small drop in deliveries of Soviet crude oil to Poland in the summer. The import of oil from the USSR envisaged for the third quarter of this year will be completed in at least 90 percent, although it is possible that thanks to bigger deliveries in August-September, the plan will be fully met," stated a Moscow-based representative of the Polish Ciech company importing crude oil.

The Soviet side wants to switch over to global prices for its crude oil sold to the East Bloc as of January 1, 1991. Even then imports of Soviet oil would be beneficial for Poland owing to considerably lower costs of transportation as compared to West European or Arab deliveries. The quality of the Soviet oil, comparable to Arab, medium-quality light crude oil, satisfies Poland, according to the Ciech official.

Second Anti-Soviet Hunger Strike Begun

LD1907170290 Warsaw PAP in English 1440 GMT 19 Jul 90

[Text] Warsaw, July 19—Marek Zadrozny of the Freedom and Peace Movement has been fasting again in Legnica, south-western Poland, since Tuesday, July 17, the GAZETA WYBORCZA Solidarity daily reported today.

The reason for resuming the protest is the failure of General Dubynin, commander of the northern group of Soviet troops, to come for talks scheduled for July 17.

According to First Secretary of the USSR Embassy Aleksandr Oskin the date of July 17 or 18 was set tentatively. The exact date was to be given upon General Dubynin's return from Moscow, the GAZETA noted.

This is Zadrozny's second hunger protest against stationing Soviet troops in Poland. The previous one, held together with Jerzy Dziedzicki of the Confederation for an Independent Poland (KPN), lasted from May 21 to July 11 and was terminated upon settling that the Soviet headquarters will undertake talks with local authorities on terms of stationing Soviet troops in Legnica, the daily recalled.

The first hunger strike was halted in result of the meeting attended by representatives of the Polish Red Cross, the

USSR Embassy and Leszek Moczulski (KPN leader), the GAZETA WYBORCZA added.

Mazowiecki Government's Problems, Strengths Viewed

AU1907123690 Warsaw TYGODNIK SOLIDARNOSC in Polish 13 Jul 90 p 3

[Maciej Zalewski commentary: "Will the Government Fall?"]

[Text] Tadeusz Mazowiecki's government is threatened. The political threats are the most visible. The foundation on which the government based itself in the Sejm no longer exists. The Polish evolution has become bogged down in compromises and indecision—the government has actively participated in producing such a process. The policy has now backfired on its authors.

Neither the Democratic Party nor the Polish Peasant Party [PSL] are political parties that are silent, compliant, and uncertain of their future any longer. They are pursuing their own course, fighting for their own interests, and effectively blocking government initiatives.

A dangerous situation for the government is coming into being: The time will soon come when although being in power, it really will no longer be possible to govern the way the government has been governing.

The last meeting of the Sejm was a switch on the track that does not have to derail the government, but will undoubtedly cause it to change the direction and pace of its work.

The second political threat to the government is the increasingly visible, because it is being concealed less, friction between it and its natural power base—that is, "Solidarity." The conflict with Walesa, which no one forced on the government—on the contrary, many warned the government and the prime minister of the effects of such a conflict—is cutting the ground from under the government's feet. It took place slowly and discreetly, initially. The curtain has been pulled back today, and one clearly see how much depends on whether the premier will manage to retain the support of "Solidarity's" organized structures. This is because in order to govern it is not enough to have the "support of the people," which is changeable, easily swayed by the pressure of economic crisis, and given to sudden expressions of dissatisfaction.

Walesa once again went to Warsaw, once again shored up the government, and furnished proof of his goodwill. He once again repeated that "that is what Poland wants," that we have to take the bull by the horns, that the process of building Polish democracy has just begun, and that there can be no enthusing about the government's successes, when people just do not know how to make ends meet.

It seems to me that this provides Tadeusz Mazowiecki with a great opportunity. It is a proposition that cannot be turned down. The prime minister's strength was and will remain a function of his links to "Solidarity." At some point, the government very quickly came to believe in illusory guarantees of the political stability that was meant to be created by the parliamentary system. It was as if this parliament truly represented the diverse social interests and organized political forces for which the nation voted.

Will the government and the prime minister use this opportunity to rebuild their position by basing themselves on "Solidarity," or will they carry on with the conflict with Walesa, a conflict that will be fatal for them, one that they allowed themselves to become embroiled in, but which they have come to terms with too easily, being too sure of their political strength.

The validity of the thesis that it is not possible to use a government to create a political camp that is to be a power base for that government is being demonstrated. It is a banal truth, but Tadeusz Mazowiecki's cabinet believed that one could turn things around in Poland.

Decisions aimed at providing support for the government and building a power base for it by means of administrative measures lead nowhere. Sooner or later every one of them will have to be renegotiated and rescinded, and time and the public's patience will be wasted.

Apart from the purely political threats, the Mazowiecki government also faces threats of another, more fundamental kind. It is difficult today to determine what its social base really looks like, to determine who identifies with the government's social and economic policies not on an emotional level, but on the level of the extent to which the government is realizing interests that are not as general as "the Poles common good."

The appeals to the "common good" can be understood and every government issues such appeals. However, a government that cannot translate the propaganda formula of the "support of the entire nation" into a scenario embracing the activities of individual social groups who support the government's policies, because the government supports their interests, must know that its days are numbered.

If peasants block the roads and start pouring their milk into the ditches and the PSL threatens to pull out of the coalition in parliament, then what will the government do? Will it use force to break such strikes, and look for an ally in parliament among the left? These are questions that cannot be avoided. There is still time to find a common way out of this situation.

The Tadeusz Mazowiecki government has, in my opinion, committed one cardinal error. It has become one of the sides in the political dispute about the future of Polish democracy. It is not for the government to use its authority and power as arguments in this dispute.

Cabinet Reshuffle Assessed

AU2007082790 Gdansk TYGODNIK GDANSKI in Polish 15 Jul 90 pp 1, 2

[Jan Jakubowski article: "A Turning Point"]

[Text] In the 14th hour of the 34th Sejm plenary session, Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki suffered his first serious defeat. The Sejm rejected his choice of candidate for agriculture minister and, what is even more surprising, objected to his earlier dismissal of the communications minister. What is important is that the rejection of the agriculture minister occurred on the eve of difficult talks between the government and protesting farmers.

This must be a painful blow for a champion of democracy, who has placed all his hopes in the efficiency of democratic institutions. In his third speech during the session, the prime minister did not hide his bitter disappointment that the Sejm was forcing him to retain a minister he did not want to have in his government. In the corridors, it was said that Mazowiecki wanted to consider the Sejm decision to be a vote of no confidence in him, but he was talked out of resigning.

The prime minister's speech, announced as a very important turning point several days previously, met with a cool Sejm reaction. Mazowiecki sharply repeated his warning about the dangers to Polish democracy and the possibility of a dictatorship, and called for vigilance. He said that party disputes and squabbles centered on ambition are destroying the harmony, stability, and calm of Poland, qualities he considered essential for the road from totalitarianism to democracy. He also expressed pride at the way in which Poland (under his leadership) has been traveling toward freedom so far and, probably to the surprise of most of his audience, called for magnanimity toward those connected with the previous authorities and system. He expounded at length on this subject, and used national accord as a standard slogan in his speech, for which he was warmly thanked by Deputy Oleksy from the former Polish United Workers Party [PZPR].

Two days later, after Saturday's meeting with Mazowiecki, Lech Walesa said at the Gdansk Shipyard that despite the fact that at the beginning of his tenure Mazowiecki had dissociated himself with the communist regime, he now lacked the will and determination to dissociate himself from what the communists have done. One assumes that the same thing was said during the talks between the two politicians at the Bishop of Warmia's residence, and that they each give a different interpretation to the word "magnanimity."

Mazowiecki's recall of the two pillars of martial law, Generals Kiszczak and Siwicki, plus a third PZPR minister (Wieladek), was not received with the expected enthusiasm either in the Sejm or in the streets. His outline of revised economic policy for the second half of the year was also received with restraint. Under his rule, the benches of the Sejm have become conspicuously empty, and during the vote on the ministers, as many as 120 deputies were absent. One could hear the reactions of public opinion (which, as Sejm Marshal Stelmachowski has said, is not being publicized) at the Gdansk Shipyard on Sunday: The changes are occurring too late, forced by irreversible processes. Therefore, they are not very convincing.

For nine months, the government of Tadeusz Mazowiecki has adhered to the Magdalenka talks [which determined the distribution of Sejm seats prior to the roundtable talks]. Although the partner in those talks formally ceased to exist six months ago, Mazowiecki has been prepared to keep representatives of the overthrown regime in his team until the very end of his tenure. The greater the social dissatisfaction this caused, the greater the distance which the "Solidarity" prime minister set between himself and his own base. The April "Solidarity" congress was already a signal that Mazowiecki was not taking this strength too seriously. Further events—the rejection of the "Solidarity" National Commission's offer to mediate in the strike by the Slupsk railwaymen, the failure to discuss the drastic energy price increases with "Solidarity" beforehand, the omission of "Solidarity" in negotiations on the subject of changes in the government, and the refusal to have "Solidarity's" historic allies attend the Gdansk Shipyard meeting—seems to indicate that the prime minister is no longer concerned about "Solidarity" support. Perhaps he is offended with its people, and perhaps he considers it to be a force whose strength has been used up. That is probably why he has been seeking support among the citizens committees so keenly, and that is probably also the reason why the idea of magnanimity toward people of the "ancien regime" has been adopted—in order to secure a new backing.

The prime minster's Sejm setback is most probably the start of new political troubles in government. The days of universally accepted speeches and standing ovations are over. The disintegration of the Citizens Parliamentary Club into a progovernment "Alliance" and antigovernment "Center," and the Polish Peasant Party's transfer to the opposition to the accompaniment of constant destructive activity by former PZPR deputies—all this can make things so difficult for the government that moving the parliamentary election forward may become an absolute necessity, instead of the whim of Mazowiecki and his people.

Tadeusz Mazowiecki has finally noticed the need for a broadly conceived acceleration, something he has vehemently opposed until quite recently. Maybe he will also finally realize that people who call for radical changes in policy do not necessarily do so because of personal ambitions, and that not all political disputes are "brutal struggles" that destabilize the country.

Government Criticized for Opposing Strikes

AU2007085190 Warsaw TYGODNIK SOLIDARNOSC in Polish 13 Jul 90 p 11

[Wladyslaw Sila-Nowicki article: "Don't Play With Fire"]

[Text] On 1 July, the prices of electricity, gas, and other services increased. These will be followed by further increases in the prices of essential articles. Yet all these increases were adopted without serious consultations with society and the trade unions, and with no explanations about the need for them. The government thinks it has no need for society in this regard, and that it is enough to wage a steady propaganda of success in the media and reply to all social protests by banging its fist on the table.

The style of the statements made by representatives of the state authorities surprises me. There was no desire whatsoever to talk to the striking railwaymen in Slupsk, even though the promises the government had made to them were not kept for several months, and the primary reason for the strike was not to present demands. Whereas in August 1980, members of the socially unacceptable communist state authorities went to Gdansk to talk to "Solidarity," in 1989 representatives of an acceptable government did not go to Slupsk. What is more, they even waged glaring propaganda against the striking miners.

A government representative said on television that the police had used force against the farmers who were blocking the highway outside Mlawa, but not a single word was said about Walesa's attempts to mediate, nor about the fact that the militia did not actually use direct force, and that at least a temporary understanding was reached. All he said was that the government had decided to use force because it had the right to do so, and, because of the international status of the road that was being blocked, also the duty. The message was presented pleasantly enough, but its tone was clear: We will break all opposition by force.

All the anticommunist groups in Poland, including those currently in power, originated in strikes. The present rules, however, make it impossible to stage any legal strike in accordance with the rules.

Those rules were adopted by the communists, by a parliament under the full control of the Polish United Workers Party. Of course, like any legal rules that are not based on reality, these rules are meaningless because they are ineffective. Since their adoption, there has never been a legal strike in Poland, but there have been plenty of illegal ones. There was no more talk later of the illegality of the strikes in Nowa Huta, the Gdansk Shipyard, and Stalowa Wola in 1988, and yet these are the strikes that gave birth to the idea of a "roundtable" and an accord between the communist authorities and a certain social group, to whom these authorities permitted legal activity, setting limits on the number of its parliamentary seats and the persons who could hold certain posts, all of which is generally considered no longer valid. Since the adoption of the law on strikes, we have also had a series of minor strikes, even after the "roundtable" and June 1989 election, but these strikes were never reported in the media. A lot of legislation is changing in Poland, and we are witnessing a veritable legislative revolution and a flood of acts of parliament pouring out of Wiejska Street, but no one has thought of changing the strike law which the communists imposed on us. The reason is that this law is very convenient for the present authorities; convenient, but also very dangerous.

For strikes have ceased to be legal methods of social protest and a warning signal from society to the authorities. They have ceased to constitute a need for talks and negotiations. The authorities feel one can replace talks with the words "you must not," and back this argument by the use of force applied no longer by a citizens militia, but by a nonparty police, which is no longer a citizens force, but still a state one.

The fact that society has no possibility of legal protests does not mean it has no possibility of illegal protests, which can become dangerous if they are put off too long.

That is why I am so concerned about the carefree announcement of drastic price increases on 1 July, particularly painful for millions of Poles.

The legislative bodies on Wiejska Street are hard at work, but I fear they are out of tune with what is happening in Poland. I think the distance between the round Sejm building and the average Polish citizen and his daily anger, worries, and shortages is increasing.

In March 1981, together with Jan Olszewski and Wieslaw Chrzanowski, I issued a bitter but effective warning, for we avoided the ultimate tragedy of a Soviet armed intervention, having brought about an accord between the government and Solidarity with the greatest difficulty.

In December 1989, again with Jan Olszewski, I issued another bitter warning, but this time an ineffective one.

I issue yet another warning today, deeply mindful of the responsibility for Poland's future that rests upon all of us.

Jaruzelski Reviews Past Year as President

LD1907170690 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1310 GMT 19 Jul 90

[Speech by President Wojciech Jaruzelski marking first anniversary in office to journalists in Warsaw on 19 July—recorded]

[Text] This year was, if I can put it this way, thick with extremely important events, both in Poland and in Europe and [word indistinct] the world. In Poland during this period, a great historical turn took place. I attempted, within the framework of my constitutional powers and capabilities, to advance this process in such a way so as to make it take place in an evolutionary way,

in social calm, in a spirit of national agreement, and with a feeling of civic responsibility.

This was also a year in which the international situation changed very quickly. I attempted to act in a way which would strengthen the position and the interests of Poland in the changing reality of Europe. I appreciate very much the numerous meetings and talks, which I held in this period with outstanding politicians, economic and social activists from many countries, both near and far away, in the East and in the West. I think that of particular importance for all of us was the issue of Germany. Together with the prime minister, the foreign affairs minister, and the government, I made efforts so that the development of matters connected with this issue was most beneficial for Poland. [Word indistinct] office of president, or rather a reactivation of the office of the president after so many years, constitutes a kind of, let us call it, test bed for the functioning of this offfice, its principles, its style, and the way of acting.

I have acted in a way that was not propaganda oriented, not for public show, but rather matter-of-factly, quiet, and business like. (?This) could create an impression of certain inactivity. In this building work starts early in the morning and ends late, sometimes very late at night, but this is not the most significant point. What is most significant is real actions. I think that one can see as an achievement of this time the constructive relations and cooperation of the office of the president with the parliament, the speakers of the Sejm and Senate, parliamentary floor groups and their leaders, the government, and the Council of Ministers chairman in particular, as well as with many political and social forces which need such contacts.

I also very much value meetings held with representatives of certain milieux. Such meetings took place with the journalistic milieu and representatives of scholarly circles, economists, sociologists, pedagogues, youth milieux, and rural milieux. I value highly the inspiration which flows from them for my work and for the work of my colleagues.

At the same time, I continue to be aware that if one lives in a palace, then there is always a danger of being separated from the concerns of the people. That is why I try to stimulate self-control and continue to have an awareness of how society and the nation lives. I know that people are finding things hard, that there is a mass of various inconveniences and difficulties. I receive many letters, many other signals, and I have contacts.

That is why I try to think and act in such a way which would make the economic efficiency and economic reform which are to bring—and I am convinced will bring results—take account of the social factors, so that it is a social market economy as mentioned by the prime minister, and so that every human pain can be attended to, and every human concern.

To sum up, I think that we can consider this year, from the viewpoint of a president's work and this office, as important and difficult, but at the same time, educational and creating. For the future, for the present, (and?) for the future presidents, it has been an interesting collection of experience which can be used to the benefit of Poland. I believe that the reforms and transformations which we are implementing will bring success to Poland, and will be capable of overcoming the difficulties and achieving our goals. I try to serve this cause to the best of my ability.

Liquidation Chairman Drygalski on RSW Breakup

AU2007101390 Warsaw TYGODNIK SOLIDARNOSC in Polish 13 Jul 90 p 15

[Interview with Jerzy Drygalski, chairman of the RSW (Prasa-Ksiazka-Ruch Workers Cooperative Publishing House) Liquidation Commission, by Elzbieta Isakiewicz; place and date not given: "We Have Not Liquidated the RSW"]

[Text] [Isakiewicz] The party grew rich through the "Prasa-Ksiazka-Ruch" Workers Cooperative Publishing House [RSW], and kept it a secret from the people. Now the commission, which was established by a "Solidarity" prime minister to wind up that giant, is also working in secret. Why?

[Drygalski] That is a misconception. The commission is going about its work openly. We hold dozens of meetings, have hundreds of telephone conversations, receive many delegations, including editorial staff. We are working together with all the trade unions, as well as journalists from the Association of Polish Journalists and the Association of Journalists of the Polish Republic. We often make visits outside Warsaw, especially to regional publishers. We maintain close contact with the press. All these meetings take up a lot of time. This diverts attention from our main task—working out a plan for transforming the concern. We will continue, however, with the meetings. Providing information is one of the conditions for the success of the transformation process.

[Isakiewicz] What did the RSW and, through it, the party really have?

[Drygalski] Twenty-two publishing houses, 160 titles, 17 separate printing works, a distribution system, and 90,000 employees and many other components, which even included a factory for the manufacture of frames. However, the figures are deceptive, because ownership relations within the concern are very complicated and difficult to untangle. What was formerly the RSW is not the owner of the clear majority of buildings and plots of land. They mainly belong to the state treasury. In addition, many components of the concern are in a state of bankruptcy or on the verge of it. So, the real value of the assets is much lower. Unfortunately, it is commonly believed that the concern possesses enormous resources. So, that whets people's appetites.

[Isakiewicz] RSW employees accuse your commission of not treating them seriously and even of behaving arrogantly toward them. Here is an example from one publishing house. First, you spoke to representatives of the unions and the self-management council and said: "You can expect fixed assets, equipment, loans, and titles." That was what you said. Then, along came another member of the commission, he happened to be from the GOSC NIEDZIELNY, and contradicted you by saying: "In the end you did work for the communists." Has absolute power not gone to the commission's head? Who should be believed?

[Drygalski] I would advise you not to make hasty generalizations and not to rely on gossip or biased information. That greatly distorts the picture. The commission acts according to a framework and schedule and to procedures that are strictly laid down by the law. However, it is the Council of Ministers that is to approve the final draft for transformation of the concern. So, how can you talk of absolute power?

[Isakiewicz] What about those views charging that the commission is acting chaotically? What is their source?

[Drygalski] Their source is impatience and uncertainty. Some newspapers are demanding immediate solutions from the commission. We are frequently being pushed up against the wall. Sometimes there is a danger of strikes. When people's interests are threatened, they are reluctant to recognize the validity of arguments, including the requirements of the law. The law is then interpreted in a one-sided fashion, so that it will bestow nothing but benefits. Fortunately, numerous meetings and information campaigns have made it possible to gradually allay fears. There is an increasingly better understanding of the limitations within which the commission operates.

I am fully aware, however, of the extent to which there are conflicting interests and of the force of pressure being exerted from below. I also think that many staffs are not aware of the scope of the commission's work. The winding up of the RSW is an operation that is being performed on a living economic organism. We cannot bring about the financial collapse or downfall of the concern, because then the press market would collapse, and then so would the information system—the core of the political system. That is why we attach great importance to the efficient, on-going running of the concern, and that is why we had to form an efficient executive apparatus for the commission.

[Isakiewicz] Some employees fear that deliberately or not the liquidation commission is assisting former party comrades. Part of the RSW's assets are to be auctioned off. They could be acquired by the same people from the old companies, because they have the capital.

[Drygalski] There really is a danger that nomenklatura arrangements will be reproduced. The law grants newspaper staffs the sovereign right to establish cooperatives and to apply for assets, including press titles. The editorial staffs were formed under the supervision of the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR]. It is absurd, however, to blame the commission for this. Besides, the danger is not as great as it is assumed to be. This is because we have initiated a process of personnel changes from below, which will gradually eliminate people from the nomenklatura. Publications are also undergoing a process of economic selection.

For understandable reasons, party publications are not competitive and are going bankrupt, or are having to change their editorial policy and change managerial personnel. At the moment, political and generational changes are occurring in the Polish press. On the other hand, there is another danger—political screening. That is what the RSW "Solidarity" organization demanded. Common sense dictates that both these extremes should be avoided. As far as companies are concerned, those that were formed after 31 August 1989 will be dissolved in the manner prescribed by the law.

[Isakiewicz] Why was the RSW "Solidarity" organization not allowed to take part in the work of the commission, which is something that it had resolutely called for? Other unions and the Association of Polish Journalists also issued protests?

[Drygalski] The members of the commission were appointed by the prime minister. That is a question that you should address to Tadeusz Mazowiecki and not to the commission. We have regular weekly meetings with the RSW "Solidarity" organization, and we provide explanations for all contentious and controversial issues.

[Isakiewicz] With whom can appeals against commission decisions be lodged?

[Drygalski] A decision made by the Council of Ministers is final. In this sense, it has absolute power; however, can you imagine having absolute power in Poland in 1990? I already mentioned that the commission operates within the framework of the law. In addition, we are constantly subject to the scrutiny of decisionmakers, the Sejm (the culture and mass media commission, to be precise) journalists, and finally, of work forces, who are capable of defending their interests splendidly. Viewed from this angle, I would be more inclined to talk of a certain legal and social incapacitation of the commission rather than of absolute power.

[Isakiewicz] Have you encountered the charge that the commission's powers concerning the transfer of RSW assets have no legal basis, because assets can be leased out, sold, or bought, but not transferred.

[Drygalski] There are circles that have formulated charges to that effect. There are reasons why the liquidation act is called a special act [specustawa]. There were political and social imperatives for passing the act. The maintenance of the RSW was incompatible with the democratic changes taking place in the country.

[Isakiewicz] Is the commission's decision that RSW employees should not be covered by the Sejm law on collective dismissals not a violation of the law? You said that, gentlemen, there is no money for severance pay, and that instead employees of papers and publishers, whose operations have been suspended, have been paid for months—that is, for simply doing nothing.

[Drygalski] We made some publications go into liquidation. We made some suspend operations. The suspension of a publication is a compromise. We are scaling down losses to a minimum and providing staffs with an opportunity to set up cooperatives and submit recovery plans. It is a kind of protective umbrella for the transition period. We have responded positively to suggestions from journalists.

[Isakiewicz] At the same time, the commission has made the future cooperatives—that is, ordinary employees—assume liability for terminating contracts and the payment of severance pay to all those who will stop working. There will be thousands of them. That places an enormous burden on these cooperatives at the very outset?

[Drygalski] The liquidation of the RSW does not actually mean the liquidation, but the transformation of the concern. The great majority of component units will not interrupt their operations, but will undergo a smooth transition to new organizational forms. So, there are no legal or economic factors that justify collective dismissals. When they do arise, we will apply appropriate legal solutions and pay out the benefits that are envisaged.

[Isakiewicz] People are protesting, however.

[Drygalski] That is understandable. The benefit payments that arise in the case of group dismissals are important and would have an impact on household budgets. Don't you think, however, that we should stop handing out assets, especially now that we are trying to go over to a market economy? The commission would assume a financial burden of the order of 120-150 billion zlotys. How are we to find resources to satisfy creditors claims, to provide cooperatives with working capital, and so on?

[Isakiewicz] The only thing is that the issue of giving away assets for nothing is not that clear-cut. A significant part of those assets were built up out of the bonus and award funds of employees, not of Communists, but of ordinary employees, whose plants were incorporated into the concern without their consent. They have no rights to these assets today, just as they had no right to them in the past.

[Drygalski] I recognize that morally employees have a right to some part of the assets, above all, because the RSW Main Board took about 70 percent of the profits. Part of the profits were returned to them in the form of investment outlays. On the other hand, the argument cannot be defended in law. It is exceptionally difficult to assess the value of the labor input.

[Isakiewicz] The transfer of ZYCIE WARSZAWY into the hands of Kazmierz Woycicki aroused enormous controversy. The liquidation commission press spokesman was kind enough to explain on television that the paper's employees were divided, and so someone had to make a decision. The commission did not consult in its decision with the Association of Polish Journalists or "Solidarity." It was perceived—at least by a section of public opinion—as a typical political decision. There already is RZECZPOSPOLITA, and now there is another progovernment paper, and its new chief, a colleague of the prime minister's from WIEZ, comes from GAZETA WYBORCZA circles.

[Drygalski] The situation at ZYCIE was extremely complicated. The staff were divided and arguing among themselves. The editor in chief, Artur Howzan, lost the ability to run the paper, and his leadership was called into question by part of the work force. We found that certain glaring violations of the law had occurred in the ZYCIE WARSZAWY Publishing Company, which he headed. The company itself was dissolved in accordance with the law. A few days after the commission had started its work, I proposed to the employees of ZYCIE WARSZAWY that a joint group be set up, one comprising representatives of all the different options that were being suggested, as several such options had emerged. Then we examined all the initiatives from the legal angle. As for recalling Artur Howzan from the post of editor in chief, there was no doubt on the part of the group or the commission that he should be recalled. Then there was the problem of appointing an acting editor in chief for the period until final decisions are made by the Council of Ministers.

[Isakiewicz] Appointing?!

[Drygalski] The commission has sole authority regarding personnel decisions. Theoretically, there were two courses available. Either the team would propose a candidate or the commission would. I could not allow a plebiscite, because that would not have resolved the dispute within the paper's staff and would have triggered a process of holding plebiscites in many other publications. It would have meant a loss of control over matters in the concern. Contrary to what the spokesman said, I held consultations with many people, including people from the Association of Polish Journalists and "Solidarity." Journalists themselves proposed Mr. Woycicki. Mr. Jelenski, who had been a ZYCIE journalist, for many years, was also put forward as a candidate; however, an agreement was been worked out. So, the commission's behavior was dictated by common sense and not by any kind of Machiavellian intentions.

[Isakiewicz] There are rumors that the "Agora" company would like the premises of one of the publishers, and that something along the lines of a new concern will come into being.

[Drygalski] Does that seem realistic when there is so much diversification and fragmentation going on in the

press? "Agora" has submitted an offer, and its offer will be considered in the same way as all the others. "Agora" will not be granted special terms.

[Isakiewicz] What about the RSW's debts? Who will pay those?

[Drygalski] The liquidation commission of course. We are obliged by law to satisfy all creditors claims.

[Isakiewicz] Does the RSW in a state of liquidation receive the same concessions as the PZPR's RSW?

[Drygalski] No.

[Isakiewicz] Are you not afraid that people will say: "Society is paying off the party's debts yet again."

[Drygalski] I do not think so. If you take into account the level of assets, the number of organizational components and employees, then the obligations that we have to discharge do not seem to be all that terrible.

[Isakiewicz] There was a plan to nationalize the RSW that was put forward a few months ago, but it failed to get any support from the government or the Sejm. Do you not think that nationalizing the RSW would have been a sounder decision?

[Drygalski] It would undoubtedly have given more freedom to the commission that would also have had to come into being. It would have been faced with the same problems, but would have had more room for maneuver. We are hemmed in by regulations. In this sense, nationalization would have been better. It would have reduced losses to a minimum during the liquidation process. However, there are also certain negative aspects to nationalization. It would be difficult to reconcile with the privatization process.

Future Revaluation of Zloty Announced

AU2007132990 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 18 Jul 90 pp 1, 2

["Us"-signed report: "Ten Zlotys To The Dollar"]

[Excerpt] "I will not hide the fact that work on revaluing the zloty is under way at the Polish National Bank," said bank president Wladyslaw Baka at a news conference on Tuesday. "We do not know yet whether the new zloty will be equivalent to the present 1,000 zlotys [Z] or Z5,000. The revaluation will come as no surprise. I swear everyone will learn about it six months before the operation starts. In any case, it will not happen this year, and not overnight. It will last for one year, maybe three. Throughout this time, both the old zloty and the new zloty will be valid. No one will lose money."

W. Baka also announced the introduction of a new Z500,000 note, with a portrait of Henryk Sienkiewicz, on 1 August. He did not reveal any other details about it, but promised that it would be shown on television. "Personally, I rather like the look of the new note," he said. [passage omitted].

Farmers Talks Fail; Meeting Set for 24 Jul

LD1907144790 Warsaw PAP in English 1217 GMT 19 Jul 90

[Text] Warsaw, July 19—Neither today has the discussion on the ways of fixing purchasing prices for farm produce that lasted about two hours led to the adoption of a joint stand on this question between the government and representatives of farmers. The sides will hold another meeting on this topic next Tuesday.

The delegations of both sides, whose personnel make-up was changed, started talks on dairy problems.

New Citizens Movement Formation Reported

AU1907201390 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 13 Jul 90 p 2

[Tomasz Roguski report: "Right of Center"]

[Text] A new citizens movement structure has been formed. It competes with the Warsaw Alliance of "Solidarity" Citizens Committees. The first meeting was held at Warsaw Polytechnic on 12 July.

Taking part were about 40 people, representing the following parties and political groups, among others: The Union of Real Politics, Christian-National Union, Christian-National Democratic Labor Party, and several citizens committees of a chiefly right-wing Christian orientation. Acting as observers were representatives of the Polish Peasant party, the "Solidarity" Citizens Committees of Ochota and Zoliborz, and the "Soli-Deo" Catholic Academic Association.

The meeting referred to the experiences of the Lodz Citizens Alliance, a structure that now consists of 48 political parties and organizations which compete with the Lodz Voivodship Citizens Committee.

The tasks which the new structure has set itself consist of building genuine democracy and opposing the transformation of citizens committees into left-wing parties, which, in the opinion of the participants, is what the Bujak-Wujec "clan" would like to happen. The meeting placed its support in Walesa and his concept of Citizens Committees as open structures, consisting of representatives of various parties and organizations, and cooperating with various such parties and organizations. A struggle for the "Solidarity" emblem was declared; it was held that the right wing is also entitled to use it. "He who monopolizes the 'Solidarity' emblem will have guaranteed power in Poland for many years. We cannot give it up without a struggle," said Wojciech Bogaczyk from the Christian-National Union.

This is particularly important in view of the forthcoming elections. Similar importance was attached to the use of the adjective "Christian." Some people said the new alliance should be a platform for future parliamentary elections, and Walesa's candidacy for president was supported.

After three hours, the participants agreed to formally establish a new citizens alliance in Warsaw, but failed to decide on a name and precise form organization for it. This will be dealt with by a nine-man team, chosen by the participants.

Sejm Adopts Culture, Wages, Alcohol Amendments

LD2007011190 Warsaw PAP in English 2159 GMT 19 Jul 90

[Text] Warsaw, July 19—The Polish Sejm (parliament's lower house) passed one hundred bills during its one-year of office. The amendments to the law on the protection of cultural values and museums was the 101st one.

Protection of Cultural Goods

The Sejm adopted the amendments to the law on protection of cultural goods with 288 votes for and four abstentions. The subject of law are some 450,000 old buildings, 1,300 historical towns, 8,000 old parks and 10,000 old cemeteries whose condition is poor. Under the amended law, a state controlling body will be set up and conservators of monuments of culture will be appointed in towns and rural districts.

Deputy Wladyslaw Krzyzanowski said he hoped that the amendments would protect the Porczynskis collection which is a real treasure. Thanking the donors for the gift, he apologized to them for the rumour that said some of the gifts were forgery. Minister of Culture Izabella Cywinska said that "we are not able to appreciate those who give to the nation the fortune of their lives," and added that decisions would be make soon as to the creating of a substitutive fund as it would be difficult to finance culture from the state budget.

Wage Systems at Enterprises

The Sejm adopted the amendments to the law on factory wage systems. A government representative said that most probably the lowest pay would go up as of September to reach 35 per cent of an average pay (now 860 thousand zlotys), which would mean a threefold growth.

Sale of Alcohols

The chamber also amended the law on the upbringing in sobriety and counteracting alcoholism. The exclusive right of wholesale trade of alcohols. The Sejm also decided to lift the regulation limiting the time of selling alcohols.

Students Demonstrate, Demand Munteanu's Release

'Several Thousand' Protest in Timisoara

AU1907204790 Paris AFP in English 2014 GMT 19 Jul 90

[Text] Bucharest, 19 Jul (AFP)—Several thousand people demonstrated in Timisoara on Thursday [19 July] night for the release of student leader Marian Munteanu, who was arrested and jailed in Bucharest during last month's anti-government protests.

Demonstrators gathered for two hours in Union Square, according to sources reached by telephone, in answer to a call from a number of groups, including the Timisoara Society which drafted the "Timisoara Proclamation", they said.

The March 11 proclamation demanded that no former communist be permitted to stand for public office in Romania for the next three legislative terms. The same demand was echoed by anti-government protestors who occupied University Square in Bucharest for 50 days until cleared by police on June 13.

Romanian Prime Minister Petre Roman said in Paris on Wednesday it was "possible" Mr. Munteanu could be released.

In Bucharest on the same day, Romanian President Ion Iliescu said Mr. Munteanu had been arrested for inciting protestors to converge on police headquarters.

Mr. Munteanu was arrested on June 18 in a hospital emergency ward after having been beaten up four days earlier by miners sent in by authorities to crush the anti-government demonstration.

On Thursday, demonstrators in Timisoara called for the release both of Mr. Munteanu and others detained since last month.

They also called for the creation of an "Association of December 17" to "denounce the lack of attention paid to the injured and the families of those killed during last December's revolution."

The demonstrators read an open letter to the government calling for the publication of findings of a government commission looking into the violent events of last December in Timisoara.

They also demanded that the text of government bills be published in the press and that information be released about the fortunes of former communist leaders and the family of executed dictator Nicolai Ceausescu.

Open Letter Issued to Government

AU2007080390 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0714 GMT 20 Jul 90

[Text] Bucharest, 20 Jul (ROMPRES)—A meeting was called in Timisoara's Opera Square Thursday [19 July] evening by associations and student leagues and unions among which the "Tot Banatu:i Fruncea" society, the Timisoara Society, the 17 December Association of Injured Revolutionaries, the Association of Former Political Detainees.

An open letter to the government about developments in the country after 22 December 1989 was read out as well as a memorandum to the Romanian Government on the revolution's victims and injured, and their families. Several speakers, among whom G.Serban, president of the Timisoara Society, condemned Marian Munteanu's detention and treatment, and demanded his immediate release.

During the peaceful meeting, that brought together several thousand persons, anticommunist and antigovernmental slogans were chanted. It ended in a march of several hundred people along the city's central streets where the same slogans were chanted.

Ex-Political Detainees Request Munteanu Release

AU2007095790 Bucharest DREPTATEA in Romanian 10 Jul 90 p 2

["Text" of "appeal" from the Leading Committee of the Association of Former Political Detainees in Romania; place and date not given]

[Text] The Association of the Former Political Detainees in Romania [AFPDR] induced by the duty incumbent on its members—as former victims of the abuses and the terror instated by the communist dictatorship in the period of 1945 to 1989—can find peace only in a regime of freedom and genuine democracy

THEREFORE IT REQUESTS:

1.—the immediate release of MARIAN MUNTEANU, the leader of the STUDENTS' LEAGUE, and of all those who have been arrested for their political thinking, following the events of 13 to 15 June, 1990.

2.—that the parliamentary commission—which was set up to investigate the causes and the development of the very serious events—should present the results of its investigation to the NATION, as soon as possible.

3.—a genuine respect for fundamental human rights and the separation of the state power.
The AFPDR Leading Committee

Deputies' Assembly Discusses Economic Units Bill

AU1907190990 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1702 GMT 17 Jul 90

[Text] Bucharest, 19 Jul (ROMPRES)—After extensive talks, which the speaker of the Assembly of Deputies, Dan Martian, considered as "very good, substantial and able to bring certain clarifications," the Lower Chamber of the Romanian Parliament, who met on July 19 in the

morning, concluded their general debates on an important draft normative act, which is to be discussed by articles.

The act is the bill on the organization and operation of economic units on commercial bases, the aim of which is to turn most of the state-run enterprises into autonomous units and commercial companies.

Numerous deputies welcomed that legislative initiative of the Romanian Government as an early essential proposal for economic reforms preparing the transition to a market economy. Other deputies formulated reserves and remarks and asked for amendments to the bill. So, for instance, the representative of the Parliamentary Group of the Christian and Democratic National Peasant Party, Ion Ratiu, fully supported the direction followed by the bill but considered it uncorresponding as far as autonomous units are concerned and even dangerous as concerns commercial companies.

The representatives of the government, Eugen Dijmarescu and Adrian Severin, answered questions posed by deputies and set forth the considerations behind that document.

Clarifications were offered by the chairman of the Economic Standing Commission, Deputy Ionel Blaga, and by the chairman of the Budget-Finance Commission, Deputy Ion Bogdan.

Reorganizing Business Operations

AU1907125790 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0902 GMT 19 Jul 90

[Text] Bucharest, 19 Jul (ROMPRES)—The chamber of deputies resumed Thursday [19 July] morning its work in plenum to discuss the bill on organising and running state economic units on a commercial basis.

Before the 328 members present began a discussion of the bill in general and on article-by-article basis Adrian Severin, minister, assistant to the prime minister for reform and relations with parliament, read a memorandum on the bill which pursues to turn the great majority of the state economic units into autonomous companies and business societies. The units, assets and activities that do not fall in either class of economic agents will continue to be owned by the state which can either administer them directly through institutions in the government system, or lease them or turn them into concessions. The bill also provides that autonomous companies and business societies own their assets and enjoy full operating autonomy, meaning that they can decide the pattern of production and how to sell it, on their investment policy, and on how to stimulate their organisations through the wage and bonus system.

A statement on the same bill was read by Ionel Blaga, chairman of the lower chamber's standing economic commission which had considered and favourably advised on the bill.

Senate 19 Jul Session; Economic Debate Postponed

AU1907182090 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1544 GMT 19 Jul 90

[Text] Bucharest, 19 Jul (ROMPRES)—Romania's Senate decided in its plenary session today, July 19, to postpone discussions on the bill regarding commercial-based functioning and organization of state economic units for Monday, July 23, interval during which the report is to be studied of its economic commission on the government's document.

In the first half of the session chaired by Mr. Karoly Kiraly, vice-president, several senators requested the government to answer several questions related to the protection of the Danube Delta, to the inquiry into tabacco imports, the granting of scholarships abroad to pupils and students, the requirements for university staff in the newly founded higher learning institutes.

The Senate also debated and approved the proposals for bringing into accord some articles of its functioning rules with the law regarding the payment and other rights of Romania's president, senators and deputies, and the resolution on the Senate's organizational structure.

The Senate will resume works Friday, July 20.

TV Criticized for Trying To 'Discredit' NPCDP

AU1807122990 Bucharest DREPTATEA in Romanian 6 Jul 90 p 4

[Gilda Lazar article: "A New Attempt To Discredit the National Peasants (Christian Democratic) Party"]

[Text] The "Current Events" program of the evening of 3 July once again broadcast one of the scenarios preferred by Romanian Television. It was kept as a thrilling effect for the end of the program; namely, reportage about the arrest of some individuals who had secretly been in possession of a weapon. There have been such cases on and off ever since the revolution. In February, the gypsies of the Rahova area were selling weapons in the street, but no one filmed them to subject them to the scorn of the public. We wonder why?

The case in itself is a serious offense. Similarly serious is an action which seems of minor importance but which, persistently repeated, might have unforeseeable consequences. The camera lingered on a membership card of the National Peasants (Christian Democratic) Party [NPCDP] which was in the possession of one of the people arrested. The same procedure was observed in the scenes with the miners who had found, lo and behold (!), blank membership cards at the NPCDP Headquarters as if this was the most unusual thing ever. True, no weapons and drugs were shown then for the simple reason that none were found, but there was talk about their hypothetical existence and this suggestion surely caught the subconscious attention of the masses. The television did the same when, not verifying information

and later not denying the accusations against the NPCDP, it broadcast the statement of an individual who said that he had been drugged (and a liquid vitamin phial was shown) at the party's headquarters. The young man showed the mark left by the syringe, a mark which, in fact, was the result of the blood that had been taken in Magurele when he was arrested. Following the same method, it was said that some individuals of the peasants party had raped a woman. All these slanders, accusations, and false information disseminated by national television have been neither denied nor withdrawn so far and there is clear proof that in fact the television wants to create a collective belief and to incite people against the NPCDP. It actually is preparing an event that can be foreseen.

It is known that to establish their identity people have to show their identity card and not their party card. It is also known that on the day when the NPCDP headquarters were ransacked scores of thousands of blank party cards were stolen, together with the NPCDP rubber stamps. Therefore, it would not have been very difficult to type a name and place a stamp in them. Even if the individual had in fact been a NPCDP member, we want to remind readers that the party in question has more than 600,000 members, that there are no member files on them, and that we have not had enough time for thorough prior verification. Thus it is perfectly possible for all kinds of individuals to deliberately infiltrate this party in order to discredit it. As a matter of fact, the party card shown on television said that the owner was a construction technician and not "unemployed" as the announcer said.

How much did the television dwell on the question of how many members of the National Salvation Front were among those who were part of the gangs of attackers on 13, 14, and 15 June? Since when does a party card amount to sufficient proof for an accusation? Such a thing has not happened to the Romanian Communist Party membership cards. In accordance with this scenario, is it going to take long before we will be able to witness the public denunciation and arrest of all those who are in the possession of a NPCDP membership card?

Nothing is impossible when the scenario of 1946, in the wake of which the National Peasants Party had to suffer a great deal, is precisely repeated. Moreover, those in power today have modern and effective means at hand.

Radio-TV TU Protests Coverage, Management

AU1807120390 Bucharest DREPTATEA in Romanian 6 Jul 90 p 2

["Text" of "protest" issued by the Executive Bureau of Free Trade Union of the Radio-Television of Romania; place and date not given]

[Text] The Free Trade Union of workers in Romanian Radio-Television (Calea Dorobanti No. 191) protests against:

—The way in which Romanian Television gathered and disseminated information about the serious events in our capital beginning with the morning of 13 June this year and continuing during the following days, by deliberately being involved in the campaign of disinforming the public on the basis of accepting unverified news and communiques, thus contributing to creating panic, and by interrupting transmission without any technical reason, thus actually no longer being among the reliably reporting mass media.

—The attacks launched by Mr. Petre Popescu on national television against the Free Trade Union of Radio-Television, attacks in which he tried to create the impression among the public that this trade union was guilty of the acts of violence to which the Romanian Television was subjected ("...all the offices on the second floor were devastated with the—inexplicable—exception of a single office..."). It is very regrettable that the following day Mr. Victor Ionescu expressed the same "bewilderment."

—The completely unrespectful attitude shown in public by Director General Emanuel Valeriu toward the Free Trade Union of Romanian Radio-Television, about which he say that "it does not concern itself with production problems," forgetting that the entire productive activity in this institution—creativity, production, and transmission—is carried out by this trade union and not by him in his office on the 11th floor. And recalling—we do not know by what strange coincidence (or... we do not want to know!)—the methods that were practiced once under the aegis of the most grotesque dictatorship from which—we are told—we have freed ourselves, the director general, from the height of his position, teaches our trade union how to behave and even threatens it with the rod.

—The campaign of slanders and poisonous remarks to which Mrs. Delia Budeanu and Mr. Vartan Arachelian, as well as Messrs. Gheorghe Constantin, Gheorghe Mitrofan, and Constantin Laurescu are subjected by a press known for its opportunism, which is kept posted from within Romanian Television. Recently the list of "inconvenient" people has included such new names as Mrs. Stefana Bratu and Mrs. Marilena Rotaru, and most probably others will follow.

We want to draw the attention of those who are interested in this affair to the fact that all these people are members of the Free Trade Union of Romanian Radio-Television and we will not permit anyone to harm their dignity without duly retaliating.

Executive Bureau of the Free Trade Union of Romanian Radio-Television.

'Noua Romanie' National Alliance Established

AU1907183390 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1558 GMT 19 Jul 90

[Text] Bucharest, 19 Jul (ROMPRES)—Three political groupings—the centre grouping "Noua Romanie" (New Romania), the Alliance for Democracy Party and the Romanian National Party—formed the "Noua Romanie" national alliance on July 17.

The aim of the "Noua Romanie" national alliance is to promote in Romanian society modalities for a way out of the moral, political, economic and cultural crisis created by the communist dictatorship, shows a statement remitted to the news agency ROMPRES by representatives of the aforementioned political groupings that merged into the alliance. The document specifies that the component political groupings preserve their political and legal identity in the spirit of their own programme and statute.

The new alliance aims at raising the Romanian nation's welfare, at protecting and asserting human rights and liberties, at asserting the truth and establishing the order and the state of law in a new and prosperous Romania. The alliance is against any action conducive to creating states of conflict among various categories of citizens, young and old, workers, peasants, students, intellectuals or among ethnic minorities.

The Romanian people, the document further shows, is unique and indivisible: all citizens have the right to equal respect within the new democracy, a fact for which we shall take action against any form of extremism, totalitarianism, violence and abuse which deprive citizens of their freedom and disconsider their democratic and legal rights.

The "Noua Romanie" national alliance urges all democratic and patriotic forces, with the youth at their head to take part in the building of new Romania in which national reconciliation, political and ideological tolerance, and the ancestors' faith should be restored to their natural rights.

Iliescu's 'Discouraging' Speeches Criticized

AU1907121390 Bucharest DREPTATEA in Romanian 7 Jul 90 p 1

[Viorel Stirbu article: "Two Discouraging Speeches"]

[Text] Mr. Iliescu's speech in the Athenaeum failed to mention the famous word "all" which we used to hear so often under Ceausescu. However, the word "must," from the same linguistic arsenal, was not absent. Mr. Iliescu did not clarify the ownership regime in "new" Romania. Otherwise, he presented a government program of sorts and the "tasks" devolving from it and so forth. However, the president of a Republic should not take the place of the government. His inaugural speech should, at best, have justified the appointment of the prime minister, whom he should have asked to present details of the government activity to the parliament and to the nation. The mania of recommendations from the top diminished the prestige of the presidential speech. Then, something that Mr. Iliescu discussed again during the meeting with the diplomats: The president let loose his fury against the foreign press—hostile from his point of view, of course—which presented Romanian realities in a tendentious way. Without any credible arguments, he came up with the theory of a state coup. If he really knows all the ins and outs of the violence in December last and up to now, then it was his obligation to inform us, the people, so that we know from where the danger comes, whom to guard against, against whom to fight, and not kill each other. If he does not know, then he has to be cautious about affirmations with carry such serious consequences. Our president is wasting a lot of time with unconvincing justifications, inviting us to believe what he says. However, in politics there are other criteria besides the old habit of obliging people to believe not what they see, but what they are told. The tolerant man, permitting contrary opinions, our Mr. Ion Iliescu of 22 December, 1989, has moved away from us. As to the phrase in his speech in front of the ambassadors, namely that there will be other such tensions, that is not an encouraging phrase. During the election campaign he said that his only shortcoming was his sentimentalism. We would prefer more political sincerity from him, not sentimentality. There are different rules in politics.

Ceausescu Sister's Trial Continues in Bucharest

AU1907190190 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1814 GMT 19 Jul 90

[Text] Bucharest, 19 Jul (ROMPRES)—The Bucharest City Tribunal had a new session on Thursday, July 19, to try defendant Maria Agachi, sister of dictator Ceausescu, who is charged with embezzlement and abuse of privilege.

The court heard further witnesses of the prosecution.

The prosecutor charged the defendant with having chashed in 581,341 lei from the "Electromagnetica" enterprise, where she had been employed as a foreman, over April 1977-November 1989, although, as the evidence showed, she had gone to her workplace only seldom and not at all starting 1980.

The court adjourned until August 16, when other witnesses are to be called to the bar.

Testimony Given in Nicu Ceausescu Trial in Sibiu

AU1907201690 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1840 GMT 19 Jul 90

[Text] Bucharest, 19 Jul (ROMPRES)—The Bucharest Territorial Military Tribunal continues in Sibiu the inquest into the case of defendant Nicu Ceausescu, who is charged with genocide and breach of the fire-arms law.

During the Thursday [19 July] session, the court heard the recording of the conferences held over December

17-21, 1989, which the defendant attended in his capacity as first secretary of the Sibiu County party committee, and during which the measures for the bloody repression of the masses' rebellion against dictatorship, taken by Nicolae and Elena Ceausescu were made known.

The court noted that the application of those steps, on orders from the defendant, led to a large number of victims killed and wounded people among the civilian population in Sibiu who demonstrated against dictatorship peacefully.

Further witnesses were called to the bar, some of whom had been wounded by shots, and they revealed details in connection with the charges brought against the defendant.

Trial of Dascalescu, Oprea, Gere To Open 21 Jul

AU1907190290 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1818 GMT 19 Jul 90

[Text] Bucharest, 19 Jul (ROMPRES)—On Saturday, July 21, the Bucharest Territorial Military Tribunal will open the trial against 24 former full and alternate members of the Executive Political Committee of the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party, who are now under preventive arrest on charges of genocide.

Four of them Constantin Dascalescu, Mihai Gere, Gheorghe Oprea and Dumitru Popescu are also charged with breach of the fire-arms law.

Proceedings Begin Against Feb Demonstrators

AU1907185990 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1832 GMT 19 Jul 90

[Text] Bucharest, 19 Jul (ROMPRES)—The Tribunal of the No. 1 District of Bucharest opened the trial against a number of people accused of the acts on February 18, 1990, inside the government headquarters in Victory Square. They are charged with violation of morals and disturbance of public peace and with destruction to the detriment of public property.

In connection with these events another 29 people were tried according to an urgent procedure on February 24 and they were penalized under Decree 153/1970, which refers to penalties for contraventions against social coexistence, public order and peace. The penalties applied were three-to-six-month reform sentences, jail sentences to be carried out at workplaces, with the possibility of remission of two-thirds of the sentence, as well as fines of 1,250- to -3,250 lei.

Hungary Admits Innocence of Accused 'Spy'

AU1907201490 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1916 GMT 19 Jul 90

["The Spy Isn't a Spy After All"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, 19 Jul (ROMPRES)—On March 5, 1990, during a talk with the Romanian ambassador in Budapest, the undersecretary of state in the Hungarian Foreign Ministry, Imre Szokai, said that, according to press circles in Budapest, a Romanian Securitate officer had been sent to Hungary by his seniors to perform a number of actions against that country. He also said the "Securitate officer" himself would supply further details in the statements he intends to make to the press.

Confirming what the Hungarian diplomat had said, the Hungarian press carried in the days that followed the statement made by Romanian citizen Gyula Lemperger in connection with his alleged "espionage activity" at a medicine manufacturing factory in Debrecen 1989, as well as with his having been sent back to Hungary to continue his "espionage activity."

On March 8, 1990, the Hungarian ambassador in Bucharest was handed over a verbal message on behalf of the Romanian Foreign Ministry which showed that Gyula Lemperger was a petty criminal whom the Hungarian authorities present as "a Romanian spy" in a provoking manner. The message also voiced the energetic protest of the Romanian side versus that inamicable act, and firmly demanded that the Hungarian side put an end to such actions whereby Romanian citizens are used to promote nationalist-chauvinist propaganda and to sow hatred between the Romanian and Hungarian peoples.

In connection with this story, the news agency ROMPRES supplied biographical data and information on the activity of the alleged spy, Gyula Lemperger, stating that a petty criminal was used in Hungary to the detriment of bilateral relations.

In its 9 July issue, the leading newspaper MAGYAR HIRLAP which is put out in Budapest, ran an extensive article called "The Sensation in the Case of Gyula Lemperger—This Spy Is Not a Spy After All" which showed "the spy" to have proved to be "a hardened thief, a passport forcer and psychopath."

According to the Hungarian press, the spokesman for the Hungarian Interior Ministry, stated on July 16 that the inquest into the case of Gyula Lemperger had been suspended after his statement, according to which he had been sent to Hungary by Romanian specialized bodies to spy, had proved false.

Bishop Tokes Views Hungarian Minority Issues

LD1907170190 Budapest MTI in English 1432 GMT 19 Jul 90

[Text] Budapest, 19 Jul (MTI)—Hungary will give the greatest help to the Hungarian community in Romania by living and developing democratically and amidst balanced conditions. This is part of what Arpad Goncz, interim president of the republic, told a press conference he jointly held in parliament on Thursday [19 July] with Laszlo Tokes, reformed bishop in Oradea, currently in

Hungary on a private visit. (Bishop Tokes had been on a two-week holiday at the Balaton.)

Mr Goncz said: "The Hungarian Community in Transylvania came of age during the revolution, fought jointly with the Romanians. Our duty is to collect information on the situation of the Hungarian minority, to find out their needs, and not try to distribute advice or do anything without them or despite their opinion."

Bishop Tokes also stressed that the Hungarians in Romania should pursue an autonomous policy. He had also stressed this point in the course of his meeting with Hungarian Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky.

Answering questions, the bishop said that he had called for convening the special congress of the Hungarian Democratic Federation in Romania (HDFR), as he perceived the atmosphere of impending catastrophe among the Hungarian community.

He feels it would bring an enormous threat on the Hungarian nation if the Hungarian community in Transylvania chose to leave their homeland, thereby causing the historical Hungarian-speaking territory to shrink. "The danger is not perceived in all its reality either in the world or in Hungary."

The special congress would deal with questions of emigration, education and the livelihood of the Hungarian community.

Speaking of the possibility of return for the Transylvanian emigrates, Bishop Tokes said the West was prone to see emigration as a question of individual human rights, while the reason that forces tens and hundreds of thousands of people to leave their homeland is not being given enough attention. "And the point," he said, "lies not in admitting the people who were forced to leave their home, but in preventing emigration. Settling the situation of the Hungarian community in Romania requires first of all the establishment of the domestic and international safeguards of a secure life."

Hungary Criticized for Ethnic Minority Policy

AU1907121690 Bucharest ADEVARUL in Romanian 7 Jul 90 p 4

[Mihai S. Vilcu article: "The Speck in the Other's Eye"]

[Text] The Budapest newspaper NEPSZAVA recently carried an article with serious remarks about our young Romanian democracy. It refers to the "clique of the so-called majority democracy that asserted itself in the most brutal way," to "the absolutist nature of continuing the Romanian national policy," and to "the Byzantine centuries and decades of the Romanian history." In another context, the author asks himself "what kind of legality is one which in such a strange way makes national, linguistic, and religious oppression possible?" It is not the intention of this note to dwell on all the statements made by the author; the subject of this note is only the subject that generated the author's thoughts, which was presented at the very beginning of the article: "On 20 June, President Iliescu was invested in Bucharest—but not democracy; this, because the festivity of Wednesday took place under the sign of the parliamentary tension on 19 June, when the Magyar Democratic Union of Romania [MDUR], the organization of Hungarians, which came out second in the elections, failed to impose a vice president in the parliament, the supreme forum of the people's representatives."

The text in question proves that the author cannot claim proper knowledge of Romanian political facts. The Romanian parliament is made up of two chambers: the Senate, in which the MDUR was able to impose (to use the term of the Budapest journalist) a vice president, and the Deputies Assembly, in which the 29 Hungarian deputies of a total of 397 were able to impose, in turn, a secretary of the Assembly, who—to his honor—knew how to play an active role in the proper progress of the proceedings of the Assembly.

A simple comparison of the representation of ethnic minorities in the parliaments in Budapest and Bucharest reveals diametrically opposed attitudes regarding this issue. Recently the parliamentarians at the foot of Gellert Hill decided not to permit minorities in Hungary to be represented by their delegations to protect and promote their interests, a fact that generated a critical stance by the MDUR. The parliament in the capital of Romania incorporates 41 Hungarian senators and deputies in addition to 10 deputies for the other minorities in our country, who, because of their reduced numbers, were unable to have their own representative in the Deputies Assembly because they had none during the 20 May elections.

The Budapest journalist rightfully says that democracy should be a parliamentary one as the Western state of law stipulates. We let the reader judge which of the parliamentary models discussed here is closer to the one desired from the point of view of the representation of minorities. As a matter of fact, the communique issued by the MDUR stated that the Romanian electoral law is a democratic solution to this problem and that it is also a possible example to be followed by others, as well. In other words, the Budapest "teachers" of democracy, those who more often than not see the mote in the eye of the other rather than the speck in their own eyes, should continue to learn, including from those whom they want to teach, so to say, without being authorized.

Government Interest in 'Independent' Albania

LD1907180190 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1722 GMT 19 Jul 90

[Text] Belgrade, 19 Jul (TANJUG)—Yugoslavia's lasting interest is an "independent Albania, with a democratic system of its own choosing, which would include respect for human rights, as well as the rights of other peoples living in Albania," stated at a regular news conference on Thursday [19 July] Yugoslav Government Spokesman Ivo Vajgl.

He assessed that the events in Albania undoubtedly reflected on Yugoslav-Albanian relations. This is the reason Yugoslav Ambassador in Tirana Novak Pribicevic has been called to Belgrade for consultations, he added.

Vajgl also said the Yugoslav Embassy in Tirana will not be temporarily closed.

Peterle, Rupel Assess 'Successful' U.S. Visit

AU1907151790 Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 13 Jul 90 p 1

[Darijan Kosir report: "Happy Return of our People From the United States"]

[Text] Ljubljana, 12 Jul—This afternoon, Slovene Premier Lojze Peterle, Foreign Minister Dimitrij Rupel, and Janez Dular, minister for the Slovenes abroad and for the nationalities in Slovenia, returned from a six-day exhausting visit to the United States (Dular was also in Buenos Aires) and gave a brief press conference on their arrival at Brnik Airport.

They assessed the visit as very successful. They talked to Slovenes in the United States and in Argentina about national reconciliation— the Slovenes in the said countries also held a reconciliation ceremony on the same day as one was held in Slovenia—about the development of political relations, and the opportunities for foreign investment in our country (Peterle: "They liked the pamphlet on investment more in its form than in its content") although the interest is supposedly great, and they also met Vojnovic, the future governor of Ohio, with whom they discussed closer cooperation with Slovenia and the opening of a Slovene economic mission in Cleveland this fall. In brief, they were magnificently received by the Slovenes.

The visit to Washington was also extremely well prepared, and the essential points were the meetings with Eagleburger, U.S. deputy secretary of state, and Robert Dole, Republican leader in the Congress. The latter should visit us toward the end of August. In Rupel's assessment, Eagleburger was very favorably inclined toward Slovenia, and had radical views against Serbian policy in Kosovo; it is said that he even told Milosevic some home truths about this. The United States supports the idea of a confederation—apparently Eagleburger expected much worse ideas from the Slovene delegation and was quite relieved when he heard about a confederation—but leaves the internal system to Yugoslavia; it certainly does not want any unpeaceful developments. Among the Americans, Congresswoman Delich Bentley was the only one in favor of a federation. According to Rupel, meeting Mrs. Graham, owner of THE WASHINGTON POST, was a special honor and challenge for them. They noticed that people really do not know much about Slovenia, and our delegation therefore had to perform "pedagogical work" in the United States.

Janez Dular particularly stressed his visit to Buenos Aires, where he saw those Slovenes abroad who until now "have been the most ignored and slandered" group, although they are the most numerous Slovene community abroad. This was the first official contact of Slovenia with the so-called political emigres, and our minister noted no extremism among them, but at most, enthusiasm about the present events in Slovenia.

Presidency Statement on Talks With Republics

LD1907155690 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1304 GMT 19 Jul 90

[Excerpt] Belgrade, 19 Jul (TANJUG)—[passage omitted] A statement by the SFRY Presidency's Press and Information Bureau was issued today in connection with various reactions in the mass media to the current initiatives of the State Presidency.

An important part of the statement says:

"Certain mass media carry commentaries and articles, which untruthfully and regardless of facts, deny, disparage, and malevolently interpret an initiative of the SFRY Presidency—which was announced publicly in its President's speech to the SFRY Assembly on 28 May—to find out and coordinate possible proposed solutions for future interrelations within Yugoslavia and for its constitutional order in joint talks with republican leaderships.

"In other words, it is stated that this initiative is unnecessary and futile and that the SFRY Presidency has no political feeling for the political reality. The SFRY Presidency's stands are identified with conclusions and stands of certain republican leaderships, and it is even stated that the SFRY Presidency is directly involved in the disintegration of Yugoslavia. Those are, in fact, attempts to halt a constitutional way out of crisis and to continue with unilateral imposition of a future constitutional order of the country.

"To be informed about opinions of republican and provincial leaderships, to establish which questions of interest for the whole country are contentious and which are not, the SFRY Presidency held talks with the Presidencies of Bosnia-Hercegovina, Montenegro, Macedonia, Croatia, Serbia, and Vojvodina.

"A statement from each of those talks contained conclusions, stands, and proposals expressed or represented by the respective republican or provincial leadership and

not by the SFRY Presidency itself. In this context, assertions that it accepted some opinions and proposals in certain cases while in other cases it rejected them are not only untrue and ill-intentioned, but they are also detrimental because they impede constructive activities which the SFRY Presidency initiated according to its constitutional rights and responsibilities.

"Soon the SFRY Presidency will hold talks with the Slovene Presidency, and if possible with the Kosovo Presidency, and then, cooperating with the most responsible bodies and people from republics and autonomous provinces, on the basis of all opinions and proposals, it will try to reach coordinated proposals for a future social system of Yugoslavia and to clarify real differences in question, which should facilitate work on a future constitutional order of the country.

"The Presidency will inform the SFRY Assembly and the public about the results of its work," the statement of the SFRY Presidency's Press and Information Bureau says.

Defense Secretariat Defends Territorial Policy

LD1907163690 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1405 GMT 19 Jul 90

[Text] Belgrade, 19 Jul (TANJUG)—If all the recruits were to enter their military service on the territory of their respective republic, or province, then certain Yugoslav Armed Forces' units would be filled with only 70 percent, while at the same time 60 percent of the those to be called in could not do so.

This is the reply the Yugoslav Defence Secretariat on Thursday [19 July] sent to the Assembly of Yugoslavia in answer to the question delegate Vinko Jelen recently posed—'In what way would the preparedness of the Yugoslav People's Army be threatened if the number of recruits serving in their own republics would be increased.'

The reply also states that if the territorial principle is applied to only 50 percent, the units in some republics and provinces would become one-national, which runs contrary to the nature of the Yugoslav People's Army—defined in the Constitution as an armed force of all Yugoslav nations and nationalities.

Relinquishing the exterritorial principle and increasing the number of recruits serving in their own republic or province, over the present 15 percent, would have adverse effect to its combat readiness, it is set out among other things in the Yugoslav Defence Secretariat reply.

Slovenia May Withhold Conscripts

LD1907221190 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2025 GMT 19 Jul 90

[Text] Ljubljana, 19 Jul (TANJUG)—The Assembly of the Republic of Slovenia demands of the SFRY Presidency that it provide, via the Federal Secretariat for National Defense, new figures as to the number of Slovene draftees required for the September batch; they state they must know by 30 July of this year. In this way the whole September class of recruits from Slovenia should be permitted to see their national service within the Fifth Military District and at least 50 percent of them on the territory of the Republic of Slovenia.

This proposal has been adopted by the Assembly of Slovenia at the proposal of the republican Executive Council. It excludes only those categories and specialists for which there are no training centers in the Fifth Military District. During their national service the draftees-recruits must not be transferred outside the Fifth Military District.

In its stances the Assembly of the Republic of Slovenia demands that the conditions be secured by the end of this year for at least 95 percent of Slovenia's draftees to see their national service on Slovene territory and, in Ljubljana, the Reserve Officers Academy that was closed down a few years ago should be reopened.

Unless these demands are met and unless the competent organs of the Federal Secretariat for National Defense issue new numbers for the September batch, Slovenia will not send its recruits to carry out their national service. In the event of this the obligation of the draftees-students to carry out national service will be postponed until the end of their studies.

It was also concluded that, unless these demands are heeded in the course of the next recruitment, Slovenia will organize and carry out the military training of recruits under the conditions envisaged by the republican Law on Draftees. In this case Slovenia will also cease to pay its contribution to the federal budget.

Slovene Council Issues Media Ownership Statement

LD1907192290 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1652 GMT 19 Jul 90

[Text] Ljubljana, 19 Jul (TANJUG)—At its session today, Slovenia's Executive Council concluded the preparation of an amended draft law whereby the founder's rights and responsibilities of the media, founded by the former Socialist Alliance of Working People [SAWP], will be taken over by the assemblies of corresponding sociopolitical communities.

According to its statement, the Executive Council proposed that this law be discussed in the course of today's Assembly session. The founders ought to be defined by legislation, the Executive Council maintains, since now that the SAWP has abandoned its founding role, relations are unregulated. Above all, the question of ownership ought to be resolved, while in the meantime social property is to be protected. This is the main reason for the Executive Council's proposing the legislative consolidation of this important field, the statements says.

Remarks addressed to the Executive Council at yesterday's debate, that this amounts to "an attack by the right wing," "a state assault on the media" or "an attack on the freedom and autonomy of journalists" are ill-founded, it was said. Such allegations from some of the opposition and some media stem from lack of comprehension about the executive council's aims, it is stressed at the end of the statement.

Slovene Kosovo Declaration Criticizes Serbs

LD1907141390 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1002 GMT 19 Jul 90

[Text] Ljubljana, 19 July (TANJUG)—Delegates of all three chambers of the Slovene Assembly at a joint session today adopted a "declaration on Kosovo" by a large majority of votes. The declaration says that "Serbian Government bodies, against the will of the people in Kosovo, forcefully destroyed the SFRY constitutional order by illegally overtaking duties of legally elected Kosovo bodies."

The Slovene Assembly considers that the action of the SFRY Presidency which supported such measures of the Serbian leadership is completely unacceptable. In addition to the declaration, they supported a proposal of the ZSMS-Liberal Party [Slovene Socialist Youth Federation-Liberal Party] according to which the Slovene Assembly is called upon to initiate constitutional proceedings before the Federal Constitutional Court on the law of the Serbian Assembly which suspended the Kosovo Assembly.

Slovenia's Rupel Invites Serbs To Discuss Future

AU1907123390 Vienna DER STANDARD in German 19 Jul 90 p 2

[Report on interview with Slovene Foreign Minister Dimitrij Rupel by Samo Kobenter in Ljubljana; date not given: "Slovenia Invited to Roundtable"]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] After his return from the United States and on his way to Belgrade, commuting between East and West, new Slovene Foreign Minister Dimitrij Rupel finds little time to do much work in his office but enough to pursue an aggressive policy of announcing things, which is not just intended to fill the "summer hole" in the domestic and foreign press. The topic of Slovene politics for this summer has been more or less outlined: the future of the republic, the future form of Yugoslavia and its role in a Europe that is developing new structures. There are many options for the future state form: a confederation of independent republics within the existing borders, a union between Slovenia and Croatia into a hybrid entity of the Yugoslav idea called "Crovenia," or the splitting up into two blocks—"Greater Slovenia" and the rest of Yugoslavia.

Apart from all this, there is yet another possibility, namely that of a complete separation of Slovenia. Here Rupel is now adopting a new tone: "It is high time to sit down at the negotiating table with the Serbian leadership and discuss our joint future. This is a concrete offer for negotiations. We must talk about a confederation of all republics." This offer must certainly not be interpreted as political love whispers of an ephemeral summer relationship, because one has "no choice" concerning the Serbian partners for these talks, anyway." Yet, his visit to the United States has proved once more that one can only count on foreign support—including economic support—after one has put one's own home in order. In this connection a confederation of all republics has priority, Rupel stated and added: "The signs for the collapse of the old construction of the Yugoslav state cannot be ignored. Time is ripe for new ideas. It is our objective to integrate as many Yugoslav republics as possible into a confederation. Croatia will certainly be all for it, maybe Bosnia and Macedonia too. If the Serbs want to join us, they are welcome to do so." [passage omitted]

U.S. 'Disregarded' Complexity of Kosovo Problems

LD1907185990 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1643 GMT 19 Jul 90

[Text] Belgrade, 19 Jul (TANJUG)—Some of the resolutions on Kosovo of the European Parliament and the U.S. Congress 'have disregarded our true difficulties and the complexity of our problems,' Yugoslav Government Spokesman Ivo Vajgl told a news conference in Belgrade on Thursday [19 July].

He assessed that some of these resolutions 'fail to recognize the consistency of democratization in Yugoslavia,' but stated the hope that the governments well-informed about the situation in Yugoslavia and whose support it can count on would know how to appraise processes in Yugoslavia in their entirety.

Vajgl also said Yugoslavia appreciated international interest for its intergity, democratization and transformation. Democratization in Yugoslavia, he noted, was unfolding with full intensity.

He reminded that this was evident at this stage in the amendements and reforms of the political and economic systems—about which the Federal Assembly has been debating—and underscored that it was 'clear that Yugoslavia as a whole alone can guarantee the stability of democratic processes'.

Asked whether the recent visit of ranking Slovene officials to the U.S. can be linked with the adoption of the resolution on Kosovo in the U.S. Congress, Vajgl replied that the visit had nothing to do with either this topic or with the initiative in Congress.

He added that the Yugoslav foreign secretary participated in the preparations of a part of the visit's program and that in Ljbuljana the cooperation with Yugoslav missions was described as useful and correct.

Europe Parliament's View Criticized

LD1907191390 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1731 GMT 19 Jul 90

[Text] Belgrade, 19 Jul (TANJUG)—The assembly of the largest Yugoslav republic—Serbia—on Thursday [19 July] sent a letter of protest to the European Parliament in Strasbourg over the adoption of a resolution in which Yugoslavia and, especially Serbia, is being strongly criticized for human rights violations in its troubled southern Kosovo Province.

The letter, read at the republican assembly session, states dissatisfaction over the "one-sided and unacceptable resolution" and claims it "indirectly advocates the creation of an Albanian state on Serbian territory, which can result in unforseeable consequences. [no closing quotation mark as received]

The indignation, as set out in the letter, is all the greater since "the rude remarks of the European Parliament on the situation in Kosovo were in total contradiction with the facts and actual position of the ethnic-Albanian population in this Yugoslav province."

The European Parliament in Strasbourg adopted the resolution on July 12 this year at a session which lasted well after midnight, and with only 51 members of parliament attending of the total of 518. The resolution condemns the situation in Kosovo following the "declaration of independence" which ethnic-Albanian deputies to the provincial assembly proclaimed on July 2 and the Assembly of Serbia decision to suspend the Kosovo Assembly three days later.

Kosovo Delegates To Be Criminally Charged

LD1907160390 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1237 GMT 19 Jul 90

[Text] Pristina, 19 Jul (TANJUG)—Criminal charges will be brought against individual delegates who were behind the so-called proclamation of the republic of Kosovo, said Radmilo Bogdanovic, Serbia's internal affairs secretary.

At a press conference in Pristina, Bogdanovic said that the security services had been collecting data about this event. According to him, this was a criminal act, since to proclaim Kosovo a republic was an unlawful and hostile act directed against the territorial integrity of the Socialist Republic of Serbia and of Yugoslavia.

Bogdanovic also confirmed that, according to the latest information, 1500 militiamen of Albanian nationality have left the security service under pressure from the Albanian Alternative and separatists.

Serbian Assembly Appoints New Kosovo Officials

LD1907201590 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1504 GMT 19 Jul 90

[Text] Belgrade, 19 Jul (TANJUG)—Today's session of the Serbian Assembly decided to postpone the adoption of conclusions on the republican and federal proposed measures, for carrying out economic reforms, until its next session. At a joint session of all three chambers of the Assembly, provincial secretaries were appointed for the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo. Svetislav Vukovic was appointed provincial secretary for the economy; Tomislav Sekulic for development and science; Dusan Celic for labor, health, and social welfare; Djordje Aksic for justice; Ratomir Jocic for agriculture; Stanoje Dogandzic for education; and Ahmet Sota for transportation.

Assembly Passes Serbian Party Organization Law

LD1907184190 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1546 GMT 19 Jul 90

[Text] Belgrade, 19 Jul (TANJUG)—The Serbian Assembly's Chamber of Associated Labor today adopted a text of the law on political organization in Serbia. This law has now been adopted having been previously adopted at sessions of other two chambers. Thus a contentious provision that parties can be organized only on the territorial principle has been adopted.

Further on New Law

LD1907201990 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1825 GMT 19 Jul 90

[Text] Belgrade, 19 Jul (TANJUG)—Political parties in the Yugoslav Republic of Serbia cannot be organized in enterprises, but only according to territorial principle. This is one of the major points of the law on political organizations adopted by the Assembly of Serbia on Thursday [19 July].

In the post-war period, the League of Communists of Serbia, as the sole legal political party, was organized in enterprises, too. Three days ago, Serbian Communists merged with the Republic's most massive political organization into a new Socialist Party of Serbia (SPS).

Two Yugoslav republics (Slovenia and Croatia), three months ago held the first multi-party elections in which non-Communist parties won. In other republics (Serbia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Montenegro and Macedonia), multi-party elections are being prepared, while a number of different parties have already been registered.

Radio Pristina Workers Protest 'Manipulation'

AU2007095390 Pristina RILINDJA in Albanian 11 Jul 90 p 11

[S.O. report: "Abuse of Broadcasts Is Impermissible"]

[Text] At a gathering of Radio Pristina workers, Albanian-nationality employees issued a severe protest against various forms of manipulation which are taking place under the unprecedented circumstances created after the seizure and blockade of that media institution's operations.

"We Albanian workers" of Radio Pristina strongly protest the forgery and misuse of the programs we prepared prior to 5 July, the day when our studio was occupied by Serbian police. We inform listeners that the programs being transmitted on Radio Pristina's First Program, i.e. the Albanian-language service, are produced by the putschists and their renegade, the Albanian-speaking Elmi Krasniqi, who is shamelessly betraying the ethics of a journalist, an announcer, and an editor. We also protest against the insertion of programs from Radio Skopje and Radio Titograd into our service without any kind of permission.

Serbian Premier Questions Federal Economic Plan

LD1907145690 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1202 GMT 19 Jul 90

[Text] Belgrade, 19 Jul (TANJUG)—Premier of the Yugoslav Republic of Serbia Stanko Radmilovic today raised the question of Serbia's further support to the federal government measures.

Looking on the whole, the economic situation in the first six months of this year has aggravated, which means that we have not yet embarked on the path of resolving the crisis, Radmilovic said.

We are paying a high price for the drop in inflation—reduced production and social recession, Radmilovic told the delegates of all three chambers of the republican assembly today.

He recalled that the Serbian government had agreed to the December measures of the federal government.

However, since we have reached an unbearable situation, we can no longer agree to support the proposals which we do not believe can lead out of the crisis, the Serbian premier said.

New Serbian Socialist Party Elects Leadership

LD1907204690 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1942 GMT 19 Jul 90

[Text] Belgrade, 19 Jul (TANJUG)—The newly founded Socialist Party of Serbia (former communists) tonight completed its leadership after the main committee elected Mihailo Markovic, Radmila Andjelkovic and Bogdan Trifunovic vice presidents.

The party president is Slobodan Milosevic, who was elected to this office on Tuesday [17 July] at the close of the congress of unification of the communist party and the large-scale pro-communist organization, the Socialist Alliance.

Markovic, a university professor and member of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts, was for many years banned from political life for urging democratic socialism instead of communist totalitarianism.

Andjelkovic and Trifunovic came to the forefront in late 1987 when radical changes were made in the Serbian leadership. At the time, a more severe course was outlined regarding Serbia's southern province of Kosovo, where the majority of the population are ethnic Albanians who strive towards secession from Yugoslavia.

Delegates at the congress criticized the choice of Andjelkovic and Trifunovic on Monday and Tuesday, demanding that the new party be managed by new people.

Nevertheless, they were elected into the main committee of the party, and today also for its vice presidents.

SAWP Relinquishes Rights to Several Newspapers

AU2007125590 Skopje NOVA MAKEDONIJA in Macedonian 14 Jul 90 p 1

[Unattributed report: "NOVA MAKEDONIJA Relieved of the Macedonian SAWP's Founding Rights"]

[Text] This evening, the Republican Conference of the Socialist Alliance of Working People [SAWP] of Macedonia decided to relinquish its founding rights to NOVA MAKEDONIJA, FLAKA E VELLAZERIMIT [Albanian language paper], and BIRLIK [Turkish language paper]. At the same time the republican conference instructed its commission, which was set up to deal with this matter, to immediately establish contacts and reach an agreement with the Republican Assembly, which is supposed to take over the founding rights together with the obligation that it will find the best solutions to preserve the independence these papers have enjoyed up to now.

[FBIS Note: The 14 July issue is the first issue of NOVA MAKEDONIJA to have "The Socialist Alliance of Working People of Macedonia" dropped from the masthead]

'Extremists' in Serbian Democratic Party Viewed

AU1907130190 Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 13 Jul 90 p 2

[Mladen Plese commentary: "The Passions of Conflict"]

[Text] Speeches by the heads of the Serbian Democratic Party in the last few days and their persistent attempts to set up Serbian autonomy as soon as possible and regardless of all constitutional and legal norms are increasingly dangerous attempts to undermine or even annul all the democratic changes and achievements that came about at the first multiparty democratic elections in Croatia. For several days, we have witnessed the increasing escalation of radicalism and extremism in the ranks of the Serbian Democratic Party, and speeches by Jovan Raskovic, Jovan Opacic, and the local party leaders in

Titova Korenica have only completed this mosaic of threats and blackmail which has been persistently put together since the elections ended in Croatia. This is also a confirmation of the idea that actions are actually being taken according to a devised and precisely worked out scenario for the destabilization and kosovization of Croatia which—as is after all well known—has not been written in Croatia.

How else can one comment on the latest speech by Jovan Raskovic in which he claims that the Croatian Assembly is undemocratic and that the proposed constitutional amendments are anti-Serbian? Or, what can one say about Jovan Opacic's threats that Serbian autonomy will be proclaimed at a meeting at which the Serbian Democratic Party could gather together 150,000 people? This is difficult to interpret in any other way than as nonacceptance of the democratic changes in Croatia and the will of the people that was expressed at secret elections and as an unwillingness to conduct a reasonable dialogue and debate on legally presented initiatives and proposals. Through such intolerant stands, the extremists inside the Serbian Democratic Party are not only encouraging and offering alibis to the hawks in the ranks of certain Croatian parties, but are also taking the historical responsibility for future events and political trends in Croatia. This is because any unreasonable stirring up of nationalist passions, any attempt to sow fear and hatred, and any hostility toward the acceptance of the decisions of the legal and legitimate organs of Croatia are nothing but attempts to create chaos on the political scene of Croatia. Our historical experience has taught us that the cost of such chaos in this region has always been equally as tragic for the Croatian as for the Serbian people. Therefore, it is simply impossible to understand the attempts by Jovan Raskovic in Titova Korenica to show that nothing has changed in Croatian policy toward the Serbs in 150 years and to totally unscrupulously equate Frank [Josip Frank, pre-World War I Croatian politician], Bakaric [Vladimir Bakaric, postwar Croatian politician], and the new authorities. It is also extremely hypocritical to speak about the need for a peaceful life in Croatia while at the same time failing to adhere to the decisions of its legally elected organs.

After all, the latest refusal by Jovan Raskovic to accept Ivica Racan's initiative on a joint meeting with Franjo Tudjman—which would be a symbolic start to overcoming disagreements and even hostilities, leading to civil reconciliation in Croatia—surely shows in the best way whose interests would not be served at the moment by the final burial of the wartime hatchet in this region.

Socialist Party Speeches Resemble 'Old Party'

AU1907133890 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 18 Jul 90 pp 1,3

[Unattributed report: "Socialism of Serbian Colors"]

[Excerpt] Belgrade—The discussion about the main points on the agenda at the first congress of the Socialist Party of Serbia—the program and the statute of the new party—in many ways resembled the marathon, extensive discussions in the old party.

Right at the beginning, 117 delegates expressed the wish to speak. A large number of them neither stuck to the agenda nor made specific proposals concerning changes to the party's basic documents, but delivered general political speeches. The working presidium, as well as a number of delegates, appealed to the delegates to speak only about the main topics and be more specific, but many did not listen. When fatigue and sullenness prevailed in the Blue Hall of the Sava Center there were even some open protests against the speeches of the persistent "agrarian lobby" which imposed on the congress of unification issues such as the current economic policy and agriculture. A large number of delegates dealt with Kosovo problems and the historic merits of the Serbian people. Many of them critically dissociated themselves from the former communist ideology and the heritage of "Titoism." [passage omitted]

'Front of Leftist Forces' Supported in Bosnia

AU2007093790 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 18 Jul 90 p 14

[M. Caric report: "A Front of Leftist Forces in Bosnia-Hercegovina Too"]

[Text] Sarajevo, 17 Jul—Both initiatives by the committee for preparing the party congress of renewal—the creation of a Yugoslav left-wing alliance and a Yugoslav socialist party—are supported by the Presidium of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Bosnia-Hercegovina-SDP [expansion unknown]. Journalists were informed of this at a news conference today. It was also proposed that a "round table" be organized at the end of the year, after this year's elections in Bosnia-Hercegovina, at which the representatives of all leftist parties in Yugoslavia would meet.

As stated today, this event would be preceded by the creation of a front of leftist forces in Bosnia-Hercegovina too. This idea, which is similar to the one in Serbia, has been gaining more and more supporters among members of the League of Communists.

Krsto Stjepanovic, Dzevad Tasic, Muhidin Tamamdzic, and Adil Kulenovic also spent quite a lot of time explaining and politically defending the numerous attacks—mostly ill-reasoned—which have been coming from national parties in the republic. Parties from Croatia are particularly aggressive as they attack the League of Communists of Bosnia-Hercegovina and especially its president, Nijaz Durakovic, in all ways and often in an immoral way also.

It was therefore demanded that the occurrence in Ljubuski, where the Yugoslav flag was set on fire after a match between Yugoslavia and Argentina, be thoroughly explained in the republican Executive Council. Nijaz Durakovic was accused of burning the Yugoslav flag, but

among OSLOBODJENJE readers, it was unreservedly claimed that this was done by a Serb to spite the Croats.

The journalists were particularly interested in whether Dr. Fuad Muhic, Dr. Muhamed Filipovic, and Hrvoje Istuk are still in the League of Communists. It was learned today that Dr. Muhic has left the League of Communists but this has not yet been done by Muhamed Filipovic, president of the Muslim Forum, and Hrvoje Istuk, former party official. In the latest edition of the Sarajevo NEDJELJA, Istuk attempted in his own way to promote himself as a Croatian leader in Bosnia-Hercegovina by creating a new Croatian party. He stressed in this respect that he is still a communist.

As is well known, all three former party ideologists in Bosnia-Hercegovina are in frequent contact with national parties in the republic.

Markovic Visits Macedonian Businessmen in Ohrid

LD1707194490 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1539 GMT 17 Jul 90

[Text] Ohrid, 17 Jul (TANJUG)—Macedonian businessmen, in talks with Ante Markovic and his associates today, stressed that they unconditionally support the program of the FEC [Federal Executive Council], as they see in it the "only bright spot in the present situation, and all other options put the unity and prosperity of the country at risk."

However, when it comes to the latest "package" of the federal government, they did not spare Markovic. They voiced their fear of a possible further fall in production "if the process of development and consumption is not opened up by September," along with the isolation of the Yugoslav market and the slow money circulation "except to finance imports and personal incomes." The businessmen also voiced strong complaints about the fragmented and "anarchic" present system in the sector of imports, "which lacks the necessary Western regulations," and so on.

The FEC president replied "firmly" that nothing would come of proposed "solutions" involving printing new money in the National Bank. In this connection the premier told the businessmen frankly that they should bring prices down "to their real level, and only then talk about dumping prices, dubious quality, and allegedly out-of-control imports."

Estimates indicate that in this country the price level is still at least 20 percent above world prices. Therefore the battle against inflation cannot be waged without the further liberalization of imports, President Ante Markovic said. He illustrated the openness of the Yugoslav market to world influences with the fact that this year 1,600 agreements on foreign investment were signed, valued at more than 1 billion dinars, and he added that "foreign capital is perhaps coming in quietly, but it is certainly present."

The subject of foreign currency reserves and the convertibility of the dinar was not overlooked in today's talks in Ohrid, either. In deciding on a convertible currency, we were bearing in mind that this is an element of our opening up toward the world. It is indeed an element of our international relations, and an element of the quality of our work, and it is at the same time a strong political factor in our country, said FEC President Ante Markovic.

Speaking about the transformation of capital and the law on social capital, Premier Markovic said that ownership restructuring will be fully implemented, and that recapitalization and reprivatization no longer constitute a burden.

As the talks were taking place in the Ohrid Textile Combine, Oteks, which was the first in Macedonia to issue shares with dividends to its workers, Ante Markovic suggested to the combine management that they proceed at once to the constitution of a mixed ownership enterprise and to the constitution of the shareholders' assembly, as the present law on enterprises and the law on work relations permit the real participation of owners in the capital, said FEC President Ante Markovic.

Talks With Businessmen in Belgrade

LD1807200790 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1321 GMT 18 Jul 90

[Excerpt] Belgrade, 18 Jul (TANJUG)—The transformation of social property and the establishment of its owner represent the most profound and revolutionary change in society. Without this, there can be no further steps in the reform process or changes in society as a whole, stressed Federal Executive Council [FEC] President Ante Markovic at the conclusion of today's talks with 40 businessmen from throughout the country. At today's talks in the FEC, they gave their support to the government's concept of shareholding, or reprivatization, and made suggestions for improving certain solutions.

The FEC proposals for the transformation of social property are not a substitute for, nor do they exclude, other forms of selling parts of or entire enterprises or joint investment, Markovic explained, expounding the orientation toward worker shareholding. The discounted sale of shares (in proportion to years of service and work contribution) would also ensure social justice, prevent the giving away of property, and open up the process of the transformation of social enterprises into mixed ones.

If property is given away to employees, the additional capital so necessary for development will not be acquired, while its transfer to the state will mean turning the clock back four decades. This is confirmed by the collapse of the system based on state ownership. We are attempting to transform society and ownership in a democratic manner.

Commenting on the remarks and suggestions of the businessmen, the FEC president said that many are useful and that they should be looked at when changes

are made to the laws on social capital, enterprises, and work relations. Like the participants in the debate, Markovic also considers that major enterprises in particular should form internal stock exchanges for trading in shares, which would function until these firms are equipped to issue shares (external) which would be quoted on the capital market. Enterprises may proceed to this kind of share once they have received the "seal of approval" of the state commission for securities, affirming the value of what is being sold.

Markovic also agreed with comments that the sale of entire enterprises or parts of enterprises should be controlled by specialized agencies. He said that this should not be in the hands of agencies when sections are being sold off, but only when whole firms are being sold. Major systems can have their own agencies.

Without the transformation of social ownership (and enterprises) into mixed forms, it is impossible to establish the real relationship between the cost of capital and labor. This is also essential for the "activation" of collective agreements, concluded Markovic, adding that the best solutions will continue to be sought jointly and with businessmen. This is why consideration is also being given to the most successful enterprises. [passage omitted]

Briefs Unionists on Economic Reform

LD1907221690 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2110 GMT 19 Jul 90

[Text] Belgrade, 19 Jul (TANJUG)—It is not realistic to expect that collective agreements can be concluded before the owners of capital in enterprises have been clearly defined, Yugoslav Prime Minister Ante Markovic told high-ranking trade union officials here on Thursday evening [19 July].

Markovic also said that his government insisted on consistent implementation of the economic reform, one of whose main issues is precisely the question of ownership. Under the government programme, ownership should be changed from the vague "social" into private or state ownership.

Collective agreements should replace the existing law on salaries through which the government controls their growth.

The trade union officials claim tha real wages have dropped by 24.7 percent in the first six months this year. Minister of Development Bozidar Marendic, however, claims that they have gone up by 26 percent in the same period, which is considerably above the inflation rate.

The Federal Bureau of Statistics recently reported that the accumulated inflation rate in the six-month period was 4.7 percent.

Slovene, Macedonian Groups Air Current Issues

LD1907210490 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1803 GMT 19 Jul 90

[Text] Skopje, 19 Jul (TANJUG)—Delegations of the republics of Slovenia and Macedonia, led by Milan Kucan and Dr. Vladimir Mitkov, held talks today in Skopje on topical issues of their mutual relations and cooperation, and on open questions of the future relations and constitutional organization of Yugoslavia.

The statement issued after the talks stresses that both delegations exchanged views on the current socioeconomic and political situation in the two republics and in the country as a whole, and on ways out of the crisis facing the country.

With regard to the future structure of mutual relations, certain differences emerged in the exchange of views, with Macedonia proceeding from the standpoint of a democratic, modern federation, and the Republic of Slovenia insisting on its confederal position within Yugoslavia.

Special emphasis was placed on the need for concrete discussions with regard to the positions of the republics and functions of the state community of Yugoslav nations. On these bases, viewpoints can be identified on the form of organization of a complex state which meets the interests and needs of citizens, it was said at the talks.

Regardless of existing differences in viewpoints on problems connected with the federal fund for crediting the more rapid development of the economically underdeveloped republics and the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo, on the implementation of federal laws, on the election of deputies to the Federal Chamber of the SFRY Assembly, and on other issues, the two delegations agreed to conduct an open, equal, and democratic dialogue on these matters to seek appropriate solutions.

Ideas were exchanged in the talks, the statement says in conclusion, and identity of views was achieved on issues related to the position of the parts of Yugoslav nations living as national minorities in neighboring countries, and on the realization of their national, cultural, and other rights in accordance with international conventions.

In this connection, the need was particularly stressed for more regular and appropriate involvement of the competent federal organs.

Macedonian LC Presents Election Platform

LD1907192690 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1333 GMT 19 Jul 90

[Text] Skopje, 19 Jul (TANJUG)—Under the slogan "We Guarantee a Democratic Transformation of Macedonia," the leadership of the Macedonian League of Communists-Party for Democratic Transformation [Savez Komunista Makedonije-Partija za Demokratski

Preobrazaj, SKM-PDP] today presented to journalists its electoral program adopted yesterday at a closed session of its central committee.

The SKM-PDP, its president Petar Gosev said, uncompromisingly opts for parliamentary democracy, a single-chamber parliament, and a president of the republic who would be elected by deputies of the parliament.

The SKM-PDP has a precise formula for Macedonia within Yugoslavia. The party has clearly decided on three solutions. The fundamental one is a Yugoslavia where the sovereignty of republics is not brought into question. In case of the second solution, for the Yugoslav peoples to decide on a confederal status of republics, Macedonia can also exist within a confederative Yugoslavia. The third, the most imprudent solution, is also on the horizon, and this again depends on the decision of the Yugoslav nations and nationalities, and this is for the Republic of Macedonia to be a separate Balkan state.

Amendments to Croatian Constitution Criticized

LD1907185290 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1421 GMT 19 Jul 90

[Text] Zagreb, 19 Jul (TANJUG)—The initiative for amendments to the Croatian Constitution was a good opportunity for strengthening civil and inter-ethnic trust, for modernizing the republic, and for progressing in civilization terms. Judging by the growing intolerance, exclusiveness, and lack of dialogue, the opposite effects have been achieved. This is the view expressed in a statement today from the Central Committee of the Socialist Party of Croatia [Socijalisticka Stranka Hrvatske].

The Central Committee warns that indivisible and unavoidable responsibility for the consequences of national intolerance rests with the parties which are using this situation to forcefully impose their own program as the general one. The party considers that both symbols—the checker board and the star—are ideological, and that a flag without "fuedal emblems" would at least be a symbolic move closer to modern Europe.

Montenegrin SAWP 'Ceases To Exist'

AU1907155190 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 17 Jul 90 p 5

[S. Vukasinovic report: "No One Is Screwing Anybody and Everyone Is Screwing Everybody"]

[Text] Titograd—It is no longer important who is to blame, but the Socialist Alliance of Working People [SAWP] of Montenegro really ceases to exist as of yesterday. A session of the Republican Conference was scheduled to discuss the two-month public debate on the organization's transformation into a new party but nothing came of it. Since too many delegates were missing for the quorum needed to hold the conference, the Presidium thought of turning it into one of its expanded sessions. Even though no one knew whether this was also the officially endorsed stand, the session continued. In fact, this was nothing but a lot of talk. No one understood anyone else or accepted what they said and everyone proposed their own agenda. The basic dispute was and remained: To whose advantage was the two-month debate on the transformation of the Socialist Alliance of Working People and why was the public debate on the platform hindered? The so-called Titograd concept was finally submitted yesterday. It was claimed that popular opinion had been frustrated and that the public discussion had been misused for some other programs. It had also been obvious that the majority in the "public debate" had agreed that the SAWP should be a party, but this was undermined by the proposal by Dusan Simonovic from Kolasin that the founding congress of the Socialist Party of Montenegro be held as early as 25 July and that the present professional structure of the SAWP Republican Conference provide them with all work conditions in the building of the sociopolitical organizations of the republic. They finally sorted out what this involved, but nothing came of it. All the administrative services of the SAWP Republican Conference are on vacation as of today. We will see what 25 July will be like, but things looked bad yesterday. The situation at yesterday's session was best described by Professor Milinko Saranovic, long-time rector of the Veljko Vlahovic University and a very influential sociopolitical worker, who asked: Who is screwing us today?

He did not receive a reply today and no one knows when he will.

'Democratic Socialist Party' Founded in Croatia

LD1907132190 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1125 GMT 19 Jul 90

[Text] Darda, 19 July (TANJUG)—A new political party in Croatia was founded in Darda in Baranja—the Democratic Socialist Party [Demokratska socijalisticka partija, DSP], which, according to its program principles, recognizes positive traditions and electoral values of the LCY and the SAWPY [Socialist Alliance of Working People of Yugoslavia] and all democratic and civilizational achievements of left-wing parties in Europe.

The DSP supports a modern, federal, democratic Yugoslavia, and an undivided Yugoslav People's Army, and it will cooperate with all democratically oriented parties which support a modern, federal, and democratic Yugoslavia. DSP membership is open to all interested citizens of Yugoslavia.

Professor Milan Knezevic from Darda was elected DSP initiative committee secretary.

Bosnian LC To Have 'Modern Socialist Program'

AU1807123390 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 15 Jul 90 p 6

[TANJUG report: "The Abandonment of Orthodox Communist Doctrine"]

[Text] Sarajevo, 14 Jul—The existing borders and the territorial integrity of Bosnia-Hercegovina are permanent and inviolable. The questions of the territorial integrity and state sovereignty of Bosnia-Hercegovina can only be decided upon by the citizens and peoples who live there and not in the least by political parties which operate inside or outside Bosnia-Hercegovina, regardless of what the constitutional-legal structure of Yugoslavia may be.

This is one of the main orientations of the electoral program of the League of Communists [LC] of Bosnia-Hercegovina for a peaceful, free, and wealthy common life in a sovereign Bosnia-Hercegovina and a democratic Yugoslavia, which was adopted at yesterday's "closed" session of the Central Committee.

The LC of Bosnia-Hercegovina is convinced that the federal structure of Yugoslavia is the most suitable form of its state structure for all peoples and nationalities and their republics, the electoral program states. The program will be fully presented and adopted at a conference of the LC of Bosnia-Hercegovina in the first half of September. The LC of Bosnia-Hercegovina has received an addition to its name of Socialist Democratic Party [SDP]. It was said that the addition to the name also means the abandonment of some elements of the communist doctrine in the program which has the profile of a modern socialist program of the work of one party.

Regarding attacks in the media, particularly by representatives of the newly formed political parties in Bosnia-Hercegovina, to the effect that the Executive Council of the Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina is a "communist government," the Central Committee thinks that the LC of Bosnia-Hercegovina—SDP—is not and cannot be responsible for specific government solutions and measures, just as the government is not responsible to the LC for its work but to the republic's Assembly. Like the other political parties, the LC of Bosnia-Hercegovina will take a critical stand toward specific proposals and measures by the state organs.

At their personal request, the Central Committee relieved the following of their membership of the committee: Martin Mikic, Vojislav Popovic, Nadja Pasic, and Fikret Hasanovic. Because of illness, Dragan Kragulj asked to be relieved of his post as secretary of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the LC of Bosnia-Hercegovina, and Krsto Stjepanovic was elected in his place.

The Central Committee did not accept the resignation of Jovan Sarac, but unanimously expelled him from the Central Committee, although under the new conditions this was an unpopular move and was interpreted in different ways. In the opinion of the Central Committee, the publicly presented resignation of Jovan Sarac drastically shows that there are individuals in the ranks of the LC who take the opportunity in this general campaign against the LC to gain certain political profit and ingratiate themselves with some other political forces, which are endeavoring to promote themselves by above all discrediting the LC.

The Central Committee also endorsed an initiative for the rehabilitation of Slobodan Sakota and Rade Hamovic and the posthumous rehabilitation of Radovan Stijacic.